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Selections.

THE REFUGEES OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

REPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT AGENT.

[*The Tribune* of Feb. 19th contains the Report—filling eight columns—of Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE, the confidential agent appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to visit the South Carolina Refugees from slavery, inquire into their character, condition and wants, and offer suggestions for the guidance of the government in the discharge of its duties respecting them. The Report is replete with interest, and we regret that its length precludes its appearance in our columns entire. Those who have read the letter of the special correspondent of *The Tribune*, which we published last week, will be glad to learn that its statements are more than confirmed by Mr. Pierce. We give the following extracts.]

UPON each plantation visited by me, familiar conversations were had with several laborers, more or less, as time permitted—sometimes, inquiries made of them, as they collected in groups, as to what they desired us to do with them and for them, with advice as to the course of sobriety and industry which it was their interest to pursue under the new and strange circumstances in which they were now placed. Inquiries as to plantation economy, the culture of crops, the implements still remaining, the number of persons in all, and of field hands, and the rations issued, were made of the drivers, as they are called, answering as nearly as the two different systems of labor will permit to foremen on farms in the free States. There is one on each plantation—on the largest one visited, two. They still remained on each visited, and their names were noted. The business of the driver was to superintend the field-hands generally, and see that their tasks were performed fully and properly. He controlled them, subject to the master or overseer. He dealt out the rations. Another office belonged to him. He was required by the master or overseer, whenever he saw fit, to inflict corporal punishment upon the laborers, nor was he relieved from this office when the subject of discipline was his wife or children. In the absence of the master and overseer, he succeeded to much of their authority. As indicating his position of consequence, he was privileged with four suits of clothing a year, while only two were allowed to the laborers under him. It is evident, from some of the duties assigned him, that he must have been a person of considerable judgment and knowledge of plantation economy, not differing essentially from that required of the foreman of a farm in the free States. He may be presumed to have known, in many cases, quite as much about the matters with which he was charged as the owner of the plantation, who often passed but a fractional part of his time upon it.

The driver, notwithstanding the dispersion of other laborers, quite generally remains on the plantation, as already stated. He still holds the keys of the granary, dealing out the rations of food, and with the same sense of responsibility as before. In one case I found him in a controversy with a laborer to whom he was refusing his peck of corn, because of absence with his wife on another plantation when the corn was gathered, it being gathered since the arrival of our army. The laborer protested warmly that he had helped to plant and hoe the corn, and was only absent as charged, because of sickness. The driver appealed to me as the only white man near, and learning from other laborers that the laborer was sick at the time of gathering, I advised the driver to give him his peck of corn, which he did accordingly. The fact is noted as indicating the present relation of the driver to the plantation where he still retains something of his former authority.

This authority is, however, very essentially diminished. The main reason is, as he will assure you, that he has now no white man to back him. Other reasons, however, may occur. A class of laborers are generally disposed to be jealous of one of their own number promoted to be over them, and accordingly some negroes, evidently moved by this feeling, will tell you that the drivers ought now to work as field hands and some field hands be drivers in their place. The driver has also been required to report delinquencies to the master or overseer, and upon their order to inflict corporal punishment. The laborers will in some cases say that he has been harder than he used to have been, while he will say that he did only what he was forced to do. The complainants who have suffered under the lash may be pardoned for not being sufficiently charitable to him who has unwillingly inflicted it, while on the other hand he has been placed in a dangerous position, where a hard nature, or self-interest, or dislike for the victim, might have tempted him to be more cruel than his position required. The truth, in proportions impossible for us in many cases to fix, may lie with both parties. I am, on the whole, inclined to believe that the past position of the driver and his valuable knowledge, both of the plantations and the laborers, when properly advised and controlled, may be made available in securing the productiveness of the plantations and the good of the laborers. It should be added that in all cases the drivers were found very ready to answer inquiries and communicate all information, and seemed desirous that the work of the season should be commenced.

There are also on the plantations other laborers, more intelligent than the average, such as the carpenter, the plowman, the religious leader, who may be called a preacher, a watchman or a helper, the two latter being recognized officers in the Churches of these people, and the helpers being aids to the watchman. These persons, having recognized positions among their fellows, either by virtue of their superior knowledge or devotion, when properly approached by us, may be expected to have a beneficial influence on the more ignorant, and help to create that public opinion in favor of good conduct which, among the humblest as among the highest, is most useful. I saw many of very low intellectual development, but hardly any too low to be reached by civilizing influences either coming directly from us or mediately through their brethren. And while I saw some who were sadly degraded, I met also others who were as fine specimens of human nature as one can ever expect to find.

On one plantation on Ladies' Island, where some thirty negroes were gathered in the evening, I read passages of Scripture, and pressed on them their practical duties at the present time with reference to the good of themselves, their children, and their people. In substance, I told them that their masters had rebelled against the government, and we had come to put down the rebellion; that we had now met them, and wanted to see what was best to do for them; that Mr. Lincoln, the President or great man at Washington, had the whole matter in charge, and was thinking what he could do for them; that the great trouble about doing anything for them was that their masters had always told us, and had made many people believe so, that they were lazy and would not work unless whipped to it; that Mr. Lincoln had sent us down here to see if it was so; that what they did was reported to him or to men who would tell him—that where I came from all were free, both white and black—that we did not sell children or separate man and wife, but all had to work—that if they were to be free, they would have to work and would be shut up or deprived of privileges if they did not—that this was a critical hour with them, and if they did not behave well now and respect our agents and appear willing to work, Mr. Lincoln would give up trying to do anything for them, and they must give up all hope for anything better, and their children and grandchildren a hundred years hence would be worse off than they had been. I told them they must stick to their plantations and not run about and get scattered, and assured them that what their masters had told them of our intentions to carry them off to Cuba and sell them was a lie and their masters knew it to be so, and we wanted them to stay on the plantations and raise cotton, and if they behaved well, they should have wages, small perhaps at first—that they should have better food, and not have their wives and children sold off—that their children should be taught to read and write, for which they might be willing to pay something—that by-and-by they would be as well off as the white people, and we would stand by them against their masters ever coming back to take them. The importance of exerting a good influence on each other, particularly on the younger men, who were rather careless and roving, was urged, as all would suffer in good repute from the bad deeds of a few. At Hilton Head, where I spoke to a meeting of two hundred, and there were facts calling for the counsel, the women were urged to keep away from the bad white men, who would ruin them. Remarks of a like character were made familiarly on the plantations to such groups as gathered about. At the Hilton Head meeting, a good-looking man, who had escaped from the Southern part of Barnwell District, rose and said, with much feeling, that he and many others should do all they could by good conduct to prove what their masters said against them to be false, and to make Mr. Lincoln think better things of them. After the meeting closed, he desired to know if Mr. Lincoln was coming down here to see them, and he wanted me to give Mr. Lincoln his compliments, with his name, assuring the President that he would do all he could for him. The message was a little amusing, but it testified to the earnestness of the simple-hearted man. He had known Dr. Brisbane, who had been compelled, some years since, to leave the South because of his sympathy for slaves. The name of Mr. Lincoln was used in addressing them, as more likely to impress them than the abstract idea of government.

It is important to add that in no case have I attempted to excite them by insurrectionary appeals against their former masters, feeling that such a course might increase the trouble of organizing them into a peaceful and improving system, under a just and healthful temporary discipline; and beside that, it is a dangerous experiment to attempt the improvement of a class of men by appealing to their coarser nature. The better course toward making them our faithful allies, and therefore the constant enemies of the rebels, seemed to be to place before them the good things to be done for them and their children, and sometimes reading passages of Scripture appropriate to their lot, without, however, note or comment, never heard before by them, or heard only when wrested from their just interpretation; such, for instance, as the last chapter of St. James's Epistle, and the Glad Tidings of Israel: "I have come to preach deliverance to the captive." Thus treated, and thus educated, they may be hoped to become useful coadjutors and the unconquerable foes of the fugitive rebels.

There are some vices charged upon these people which deserve examination. Notwithstanding their religious professions, in some cases more emotional than practical, the marriage relation, or what answers for it, is not, in many instances, held very sacred by them. The men, it is said, sometimes leave one wife and take another, something likely to happen in any society where it is permitted or not forbidden by a stern public opinion, and far more likely to happen under laws which do not recognize marriage, and dissolve what answers for it by forced separations, dictated by the mere pecuniary interests of others. The women, it is said, are easily persuaded by white men—a facility readily accounted for by the power of the master over them, whose solicitation was equivalent to a command, and against which the husband or father was powerless to protect, and increased also by the degraded condition in which they have been placed where they have been apt to regard what ought to be a disgrace as a compliment when they were approached by a paramour of superior condition and race. Yet often the dishonor is felt, and the woman, on whose several children her master's features are impressed, and through whose veins his blood flows, has sadly confessed it with an instinctive blush. The grounds of this charge, so far as they may exist, will be removed, as much as in communities of our own race, by a system which shall recognize and enforce the marriage relation among them, protect them against the solicitations of white men as much as law can, still more by putting them in relations where they will be inspired with self-respect and a consciousness of their rights, and taught by a pure and plain-spoken Christianity.

In relation to the veracity of these people, so far as my relations with them have extended, they have appeared, as a class, to intend to tell the truth. Their manner, as much as among white men, bore instinctive evidence of this intention. Their answers to inquiries relative to the management of the plantations have a general concurrence. They make no universal charges of cruelty against their masters. They will say in some cases that their own was a very kind one, but another one in the neighborhood was cruel. . . . . There can be no more delicate and responsible position, involving honesty and skill, than that of pilot. For this purpose, these people are every day employed to aid our military and naval operations in navigating these sinuous channels. They were used in the recent reconnoissance in the direction of Savannah, and the success of the affair at Port Royal Ferry depended on the fidelity of a pilot, William, without the aid of whom or of one like him, it could not have been undertaken. Further imformation on this point will be obtained of the proper authorities here.

These services are not, it is true, in all respects, illustrative of the quality of veracity, but they involve kindred virtues not likely to exist without it. It is proper, however, to state that expressions are sometimes heard from persons who have not considered these people thoughtfully, to the effect that their word is not to be trusted, and these persons nevertheless do trust them, and act upon their statements. There may, however, be some color for such expressions. These laborers, like all ignorant people, have an ill-regulated reason, too much under the control of the imagination. Therefore, where they report the numbers of soldiers, or relate facts where there is room for conjecture, they are likely to be extravagant, and you must scrutinize their reports. Still, except among the thoroughly dishonest—no more numerous among them than in other races—there will be found a colorable basis for their statements, enough to show their honest intention to speak truly.

It is true, also, that you will find them too willing to express feelings which will please you. This is most natural. All races, as well as all animals, have their appropriate means of self-defence, and where the power to use physical force to defend one's self is taken away, the weaker animal, or man, or race, resorts to cunning and duplicity. Whatever habits of this kind may appear in these people are directly traceable to the well-known features of their past condition, without involving any essential proneness to deception in the race; further than may be ascribed to human nature. Upon this point, special inquiries have been made of the Superintendent at Hilton Head, who is brought in direct daily association with them, and whose testimony, truthful as he is, is worth far more than that of those who have had less nice opportunities of observation, and Mr. Lee certifies to the results here presented. Upon the question of the disposition of these people to work, there are different reports, varied somewhat by the impression an idle or an industrious laborer, brought into immediate relation with the witness, may have made on the mind. In conversations with them, they have uniformly answered to assurances that if free they must work, "Yes, Massa, we must work to live; that's the law"; and expressing an anxiety that the work of the plantations was not going on. At Hilton Head they are ready to do for Mr. Lee, the judicious superintendent, whatever is desired. Hard words and epithets are, however, of no use in managing them, and other parties for whose service they are specially detailed, who do not understand or treat them properly, find some trouble in making their labor available, as might naturally be expected. In collecting cotton, it is sometimes, as I am told, difficult to get them together, when wanted for work. There may be something in this, particularly among the young men. I have observed them a good deal, and though they often do not work to much advantage, a dozen doing sometimes what one or two stout and well trained Northern laborers would do, and though less must always be expected of persons native to this soil than of those bred in Northern latitudes and under more bracing air, I have not been at all impressed with their general indolence. As servants, oarsmen, and carpenters, I have seen them working faithfully and with a will. There are some peculiar circumstances in their condition, which no one who assumes to sit in judgment upon them must overlook. They are now for the first time freed from the restraint of a master, and like children whose guardian or teacher is absent for the day, they may quite naturally enjoy an interval of idleness. No system of labor for them, outside of the camps, has been begun, and they have had nothing to do except to bale the cotton when bagging was furnished, and we all know that men partially employed are if anything less disposed to do the little assigned them than they are to perform the full measure which belongs to them in regular life, the virtues in the latter case being supported by habit. At the camps they are away from their accustomed places of labor, and have not been so promptly paid as could be desired, and are exposed to the same circumstances which often dispose soldiers to make as little exertion as possible. In the general chaos which prevails, and before the inspirations of labor have been set before them by proper superintendents and teachers who understand their disposition, and show by their conduct an interest in their welfare, no humane or reasonable man would subject them to austere criticism, or make the race responsible for the delinquencies of an idle person who happened to be brought particularly under his own observation. Not thus would we have ourselves or our race judged, and the judgment which we would not have meted to us, let us not measure to others.

Upon the best examination of these people, and a comparison of the evidence of trustworthy persons, I believe that when properly organized, and with proper motives set before them, they will as freemen be as industrious as any race of men are likely to be in this climate.

To what extent these laborers desire to be free, and to serve us still further in putting down the rebellion, has been a subject of examination. The desire to be free has been strongly expressed, particularly among the more intelligent and adventurous. Every day almost adds a fresh tale of escapes, both solitary and in numbers, conducted with a courage, a forecast and a skill, worthy of heroes. But there are other apparent features in their disposition which it would be untruthful to conceal. On the plantations, I often found a disposition to evade the inquiry whether they wished to be free or slave, and though a preference for freedom was expressed, it was rarely in the passionate phrases which would come from an Italian peasant. The secluded and monotonous life of a plantation, with strict discipline and ignorance enforced by law and custom, is not favorable to the development of the richer sentiments, though even there they find at least a stunted growth, irrepressible as they are. The inquiry was often answered in this way: "The white man do what he please with us." One, if I understood his broken words rightly, said that he did not care about being free if he only had a good master. Others said they would like to be free, but they wanted a white man for a "protector." All of proper age, when inquired of, expressed a desire to have their children taught to read and write, and to learn themselves. On this point they showed more earnestness than any other. When asked if they were willing to fight in case we needed them to keep their masters from coming back, they would seem to shrink from that, saying that "black men have been kept down so like dogs that they would run before white men." At the close of the first week's observation, I almost concluded that on the plantations there was but little earnest desire for freedom, and scarcely any willingness for its sake to encounter white men. But as showing the importance of not attempting to reach general conclusions too hastily, another class of facts came to my notice the second week. I met, then, some more intelligent, who spoke with profound earnestness of their desire to be free, and how they had longed to see this day. Other facts connected with the military and naval operations were noted. At the recent reconnoissance toward Pulaski, pilots of this class stood well under the fire, and were not reluctant to the service. When a district of Ladies Island was left exposed, they voluntarily took such guns as they could procure, and stood sentries. Also at North Edisto, where the colony is collected under the protection of our gunboats, they armed themselves and drove back the rebel cavalry. An officer here high in command reported to me some of these facts, which had been officially communicated to him. The suggestion may be pertinent that the persons in question are divisible into two classes. Those who, by their occupation, have been accustomed to independent labor, and schooled in some sort of self-reliance, are more developed in this direction; while others, who have been bound to the routine of plantation life, and kept more strictly under surveillance, are but little awakened. But even among these last there has been, under the quickening inspiration of present events, a rapid development, indicating that the same feeling is only latent.

There is another consideration which must not be omitted. Many of these people have still but little confidence in us, anxiously looking to see what is to be our disposition of them. It is a mistake to suppose that, separated from the world, never having read a Northern book or newspaper relative to them, or talked with a Northern man expressing the sentiments prevalent in his region, that they are universally and with entire confidence welcoming us as their deliverers. Here, as everywhere else where our army has met them, they have been assured by their masters that we were going to carry them off to Cuba. There is probably not a rebel master, from the Potomac to the Gulf, who has not repeatedly made this assurance to his slaves. No matter what his religious vows may have been, no matter what his professed honor as a gentleman, he has not shrunk from the reiteration of this falsehood. Never was there a people, as all who know them will testify, more attached to familiar places than they. Be their house a cabin, and not even that cabin their own, they still cling to it. The reiteration could not fail to have had some effect on a point on which they were so sensitive. Often it must have been met with unbelief or great suspicion of its truth. It was also balanced by the consideration that their masters would remove them into the interior, and perhaps to a remote region, and separate their families about as bad as being taken to Cuba, and they felt more inclined to remain on the plantations, and take their chances with us. They have told me that they reasoned in this way. But in many cases they fled at the approach of our army. Then one or two bolder returning, the rest were reassured and came back. Recently, the laborers at Parry Island, seeing some schooners approaching suspiciously, commenced gathering their little effects rapidly together, and were about to run, when they were quieted by some of our teachers coming, in whom they had confidence. In some cases their distrust has been increased by the bad conduct of some irresponsible white men, of which, for the honor of human nature, it is not best to speak more particularly. On the whole, their confidence in us has been greatly increased by the treatment they have received, which, in spite of many individual cases of injury less likely to occur under the stringent orders recently issued from the naval and military authorities, has been generally kind and humane. But the distrust which, to a greater or less extent, may have existed on our arrival, renders necessary, if we would keep them faithful allies, and not informers to the enemy, the immediate adoption of a system which shall be a pledge of our protection and of our permanent interest in their welfare. The manner of the laborers toward us has been kind and deferential, doing for us such good offices as were in their power, as guides, pilots, or on more personal service, inviting us on the plantations to lunch of hominy, and milk, or potatoes, touching the hat in courtesy, and answering politely such questions as were addressed to them. If there have been exceptions to this rule, it was in the case of those whose bearing did not entitle them to the civility.

In the report thus far such facts in the condition of the territory now occupied by the forces of the United States, have been noted as seemed to throw light on what could be done to reorganize the laborers, prepare them to become sober and self-supporting citizens, and secure the successful culture of a cotton-crop, now so necessary to be contributed to the markets of the world. It will appear from them that these people are naturally religious and simple-hearted—attached to the places where they have lived, still adhering to them both from a feeling of local attachment and self-interest in securing the means of subsistence—that they have the knowledge and experience requisite to do all the labor from the preparation of the ground for planting until the cotton is baled, ready to be exported; that they, the great mass of them, are disposed to labor with proper inducements thereto—that they lean upon white men and desire their protection, and could, therefore, under a wise system, be easily brought under subordination—that they are susceptible to the higher considerations, as duty, and the love of offspring, and are not in any way inherently vicious, their defects coming from that peculiar condition in the past or present, and not from constitutional proneness to evil beyond what may be attributed to human nature—that they have among them natural chiefs, either by virtue of religious leadership or superior intelligence, who, being first addressed, may exert a healthful influence on the rest. In a word, that, in spite of their condition, reported to be worse here than in many other parts of the rebellious region, there are such features in their life and character, that the opportunity is now offered to us to make of them, partially on this generation, and fully in the next, a happy, industrious, law-abiding, free and Christian people, if we have but the courage and patience to accept it. If this be the better view of them and their possibilities, I will say that I have come to it after anxious study of all the peculiar circumstances in their lot and character, and after anxious conference with reflecting minds here, who are prosecuting like inquiries, not overlooking what, to a casual spectator, might appear otherwise, and granting what is likely enough, that there are those among them whose character, by reason of bad nature or treatment, are set, and not admitting of much improvement—and I will submit further, that in common fairness and common charity, when by the order of Providence, an individual or a race is committed to our care, the better view is to be entitled to be first practically applied. If this one shall be accepted and crowned with success, history will have the glad privilege of recording that this wicked and unprovoked rebellion was not without compensation most welcome to our race.

I have been greatly impressed by the kindness and good sense of Mr. Lee and his assistant, at Hilton Head, in their discipline of these people. The lash, let us give thanks, is banished at last. No coarse words or profanity are used toward them. There has been less than a case of discipline a week, and the delinquent, if a male, is sometimes made to stand on a barrel, or, if a woman, is put in a dark room, and such discipline has proved successful. The only exception, if any, is in the case of one woman, and the difficulty there was conjugal jealousy, she protesting that she was compelled by her master, against her will, to live with the man.

There is scarcely any profanity among them, more than one-half of the adults being members of Churches. Their meetings are held twice or three times on Sundays, also on the evenings of Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. They are conducted with fervent devotion by themselves alone or in presence of a white clergyman when the services of one are procurable. They close with what is called "a glory shout," one joining hands with another, together in couples, singing a verse and beating time with the foot. A fastidious religionist might object to this exercise, but being in accordance with usage and innocent enough in itself, it is not open to exception. As an evidence of the effects of the new system in inspiring self-reliance, it should be noted that the other evening they called a meeting of their own accord, and voted, the motion being regularly made and put, that it was now but just that they should provide the candles for their meetings hitherto provided by the government. A collection was taken at a subsequent meeting, and $2 48 was the result. The incident may be trivial, but it justifies a pleasing inference.

ARCHBISHOP HUGHES ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

From The Journal des Debats.

SIR: On the 25th of last month, *The Journal des Débats* published an article which the undersigned considers as injurious to him. The Archbishop of New York is therein accused of being an advocate of slavery. This accusation is entirely destitute of foundation. The Archbishop of New York is not, and never has been, and never could be, an advocate of slavery. He is also in this article accused of being the author of a certain article published in the New York *Metropolitan Record* during the last summer—an article which has been more recently translated in French and published in *The Journal le Monde*. The editor of *The Metropolitan Record* is alone responsible for that article. *The Journal des Débats* has attributed it to the undersigned, and said that it was signed by M. Hughes, Archbishop of New York. Permit me, sir, to assure you, that if the name of M. Hughes, Archbishop of New York, is appended to it, the signature is false. *The Journal des Débats* represents me as having undertaken in this article, supposed to be written by me, to refute the work written by M. Cochin, entitled "Abolition of Slavery." Permit me to observe that my attention was first called to this work by the article in your journal. It is not, then, probable that I could undertake to refute a book which I had never seen up to the 27th of last month. In consequence of the accusation contained in *The Journal des Débats*, I procured a copy of this book, and I have read it for the first time. I was extremely satisfied with it in so far as it treats of slavery in a historical and statistical point of view. The learned author has been, up to a certain point, led into error by the Abolitionist authorities of the United States, who, as partisans, exaggerate the horrors of slavery beyond the truth.

Finally, although I have never written or said a word in favor of slavery, I am decidedly opposed to Abolitionism, as it is understood in America. The Abolitionists have not the right to touch slavery in the United States, except as individuals expressing freely their personal opinions.

The guiding chiefs of the Abolition movement in the Northern States appear inspired by fanatical zeal on a question which concerns the most grave interests of the Southern States and the whole country. Slavery is the "sick man" of the United States. The Abolitionists of the North, where slavery does not exist, see the situation of the "sick man" at a distance through a telescope. Their exaggerated views influence their prescriptions.

There are several cities in the South where slavery is perpetual, and where the yellow fever and the cholera are frequent visitors. One could not suppose that any Archbishop or Bishop could wish to make himself the advocate of cholera or yellow fever. What he would do would be to abandon the treatment of these maladies to the inhabitants of the cities where they prevail, and the physicians who know in what manner they can be cured or mitigated; but our Abolitionist doctors of the North, who dwell far from slavery and these epidemics, would wish, in the interest of humanity, to burn the cities of the South, which they would consider as the most prompt means of purifying the air, of destroying and exterminating, by a single remedy, the cholera, slavery, and the yellow fever.

There are in the Southern States four million of slaves. Abolish slavery all of a sudden, and what will become of them? What will become of their masters? What will become of the products of their labor, of which Europe has such need? The Abolition party of North America take no account of all this.

I hope, sir, that you will have the kindness to publish these few observations in your widely circulated journal. The article in question has been read in Europe, doing wrong with your readers to my reputation as a Catholic Archbishop. If, then, you believe that a reparation is due to me, I am persuaded that, in your impartiality, you will accord it. I have the honor to be, sir, your devoted servant,

JOHN HUGHES, Archbishop of New York.

COMMENT OF THE JOURNAL DES DEBATS.

In its editions of the 18th and 21st of last December, *Le Monde* reproduced in two parts, from an American journal—the New York *Metropolitan Record*—a long disquisition, containing an apology for slavery. In publishing this plea, *Le Monde* prefaced it with the following notice:

"The article of Mr. Brownson, of which we have made known the substance, was written upon the appearance of M. Cochin's book, entitled "l'Abolition de l'Esclavage." These exaggerations of Mr. Brownson should not remain unanswered, and Archbishop Hughes, of New York, has replied to them through the columns of *The Metropolitan Record*. European readers who desire to form a just idea respecting the American war, will find truths in this article of the learned prelate which are well worthy of receiving their attention. For this reason we publish the translation."

In our issue of the 25th December, we expressed the surprise and disgust which we naturally felt at seeing a French journal, and Catholic *par excellence*, complacently opening its columns and giving its endorsement to this singular diatribe, in which the author attempts to show that the only cause of the civil war which desolates America, is that which he repeatedly characterizes "a clique of Abolitionists." Archbishop Hughes, whom, upon the faith of *Le Monde*, we had designated as the author of this article, writes to us to-day, that *The Metropolitan Record* is alone responsible for it, and that if his name is affixed—of which fact he appears to be ignorant—the signature is forged.

Our readers will understand, after having read the preceding note of introduction, what degree of blame should rest upon us for any personal abuse which may have fallen upon the American prelate because of our having designated him as the author of the article reprinted in *Le Monde*. Perhaps we have the right to be surprised that Archbishop Hughes should have believed it to be his duty to address us, protesting against an assertion, the responsibility of the first publication of which belongs to others. Nevertheless, we do not see any reason for not welcoming his protest, upon which we should have much to congratulate him, if it were not for the profession of faith which he has seen proper to unite with it, and which to us seems a little equivocal. While denying that he has ever said a word in favor of slavery, the worthy prelate avows that he is decidedly opposed to Abolitionism, as it is understood in America; and to judge of his sentiments and principles upon this subject, from the tone of his entire letter, it is clear that if Archbishop Hughes is not the defender of the *peculiar institution*, he is, notwithstanding, by his own admission, the declared opponent of those who have undertaken its destruction. To reconcile this opposition to slavery with this antipathy to Abolitionism seems to us a very difficult task. We believe that there are not two ways of understanding Abolitionism, and when one is opposed to slavery, it appears to us that the best way of proving it is to favor and prosecute Abolition by every possible means, even at the risk of finding himself accused of a *fanatical zeal* by the Archbishop of New York, and by those who abhor slavery after his fashion.

Our reverend correspondent, who is desirous of engaging in a controversy with us on this subject, ingeniously compares slavery to the yellow fever and the cholera, which are prevalent diseases in Southern cities, and he thinks that, without making himself the advocate of yellow fever and cholera, the only course he could follow would be to abandon the treatment of these diseases to the populations who suffered from them, and to the physicians who know the manner of treating them. This reasoning is admirable; but the Archbishop of New York forgets to examine the question to ascertain whether the people of the Northern States should not have the right to take necessary measures for protecting themselves against yellow fever and cholera, when their fellow-citizens of the South are doing all that they can to infect the pure atmosphere, and spread and propagate upon Northern territory the plagues with which they are themselves infested.

But we abridge the controversy, and leave to the European public the question of deciding at what point the opinions and ideas, whereof the letter of the American prelate is the exposition, disagree with the ideas and opinions expressed in the document for which he declines to hold himself responsible.

TRIBUTES TO GEORGE THOMPSON.

From The Concord (N. H.) Independent Democrat.

GEORGE THOMPSON, the eminent British statesman, who was in this country many years ago, and while here spoke against slavery in terms of eloquent and deservedly severe condemnation, has ever since, it is well known, been the target of pro-slavery abuse and blackguardism, North and South. The lying charge that he was an "abolition emissary," sent hither by the British monarchists and Tories to aid in destroying our government, has been stereotyped by the pro-slavery press; and this, in the face and eyes of the well-established fact, that George Thompson is one of the most liberal statesmen in the Old World, a warm friend of free institutions, and, in no way affiliated with those who hate republican governments, and whose "emissary" he has been so falsely and so persistently charged with being. But he hated slavery; that was the head and front of his offending. And now, we find this same eloquent champion of freedom exerting all his influence in favor of the cause of our government in this slaveholders' rebellion. We find him addressing the English people, in words of power and wisdom, counselling patience and forbearance; we hear him declaring that the "breaking of the blockade by England would be the most infamous act recorded in the history of any nation." This is what George Thompson is saying and doing.

From The Delaware (Pa.) Republican.

George Thompson has recently been lecturing in England, on the subject of "American Affairs." Some years since, when a member of the British Parliament, he visited this country, to witness the workings of our institutions, and we very well recollect that he was charged, on his arrival, by what was then known as the Democratic party—since, happily dead—with being an emissary of the British aristocracy, sent here to sow the seeds of disunion, and to overthrow our republican form of government. The Slave Power knew well the character of the man, and that it was dangerous to allow him freedom of speech. He was requested to address the people of Boston, Springfield and Philadelphia, but in all these cities, the halls and public places were closed against him through pro-slavery influence. Where are his accusers now, and where do we find him? They are in arms against our free institutions, and vainly trying to overthrow one of the best forms of government ever devised by man, while he is found raining down sledge-hammer blows on the heads of the vile traitors, and defending the course of the Administration in its efforts to crush out this unholy rebellion.

THE FEELING IN KENTUCKY.

THE ARMY ON THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Feb. 7, 1862.

IT has been somewhat a matter of surprise to me to hear so little talk about politics among the soldiers. I had supposed that there would be a good deal, but I have seldom heard the subject mentioned. Occasionally some irrepressible village politician will be found who tires people with his talk about the "Black Republicans," who have brought this war upon us; but he is an exception. I have never heard any man of anti-slavery sentiments express himself at all. Such sentiments are not popular here.

I have been much struck in my observations in this army, by two things—first, the low moral view taken of the slavery question, and the very narrow view of the limits of the present contest, and secondly—as a corollary, in fact to this—the debt of gratitude that this country owes to Douglas, who, in his dying hour, by appeals which he alone could make, and by influences which he alone could exert, turned to the saving of the country the hearts and wills of thousands of men, who might easily have been made, either through open exertions or supine indifference, the aiders and abettors of the Southern rebellion. Douglas had immense power throughout the West, and I verily believe that he has electrified the whole country with his energetic spirit, which rose above faction and joined hands with all the world to put down treason.

I have regretted the lack of a great moral principle in our army, and have wished that some countenance could have been given by the Administration to the noble cry of Liberty and Human Rights, which burst from the national heart in April last. I have even thought that we should surely meet with defeat and disaster until we had crystalized, as it were, into some well-defined and logical purpose the various energies and ideas of the nation, until we had, in fact, become as united and ultra on the side of liberty as the South is on the side of slavery. But my observation has led me to believe that, in regard to the army, no such result is either practicable or necessary. It is not practicable, because the wily and far-seeing Southern statesmen, while they had the control of our affairs, succeeded only too well in implanting in the Northern breast a blind, unreasoning hatred of that mythical *informe ingens*, an Abolitionist; and now, anything that looks as though it emanated from humane feelings, or were directed to some humane purpose, is detected by an unerring scent and denounced as sentimental and radical. This feeling is now a second nature, and was not to be eradicated by the single outburst of enthusiasm, powerful as it was, which swept through the land after the attack on Sumter. Nor will anything less than a generation of reading, speaking and voting put our whole people on one common platform of equal rights to all men.

I do not believe, either, that such a revulsion of feeling is at all indispensable to our success. I never before realized what a fighting people we are. I think our soldiers will fight well for the very love of fighting, out of that love of danger and chivalrous bravery that always accompanies high physical development and animal spirits. Wherever we have met the enemy in the open field we have proved our superiority in those qualities, and it was particularly uppermost in the last battle So we need not despair. Our soldiers will win the battles of this war as fast as they can be set to work; the great battle of principles must be fought afterwards and at the polls.

I have had some opportunity, too, to observe the state of public sentiment in Kentucky. The fact that has struck me most forcibly is the universal popularity of the Federal Administration. Lincoln was never so universally popular in Illinois as he is today in Kentucky. There was more enthusiasm about him among his party, but he was not so generally well spoken of, and patronized and commended, as he is here. It has been the avowed purpose of the Administration to get their principles and their policy down to the moral and intellectual plane of the border States, and wonderfully has it succeeded. There is no idea in Kentucky beyond this, that the Union is to be restored as it was on the 18th of April, 1861. If any daring minds have speculated on the slavery question, it has been only to settle into the conviction that it is no use to agitate; and among the common people here and in Eastern Tennessee it is believed that the slaves of the "secesh" will be apportioned among the Union men. How extensive this belief is I do not know, but I do know that it exists. I have heard the strongest Union men—men who have suffered and braved everything—say that if this war was "to free the niggers, *any of them*, they would join the 'secesh' in a minute." I have known officers of the army say that, in such case, they would resign their commissions; though I don't believe they would do anything of the sort. Kentucky insisted on neutrality only to save her property and her trade. She finally admitted our troops on her soil with the same object.

History will give Kentucky the base preëminence of having been the sole advocate, among a high-spirited and enthusiastic people, shaken to its centre by a great moral convulsion, and ranging itself on either side of a great moral question, of a sordid, selfish and cowardly neutrality. It is to secure the commendation of such a community that the whole efforts of the Administration have been turned. To secure a foothold on the soil of Kentucky was, doubtless, a military necessity, and it ought to have been done long before it was; but, I confess I cannot see the necessity of securing the moral support of such a public opinion as Kentucky boasts of.

You might as well talk emancipation in South Carolina as in Kentucky. To be sure there are some emancipationists here, but they have no influence. To proclaim emancipation or confiscation would lose Kentucky; therefore, nothing is said about it, though everybody knows that some such result is the logical and inevitable tendency of events. I have ventured modestly to hold the opinion that as this war is to be fought by Northern money, Northern energy and Northern men, Northern principles should be our guide in conducting it—but that is heresy.

THE BLACK CODE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

MR. WILSON of Massachusetts recently presented the following bill in the Senate.

A BILL *to repeal certain laws and ordinances in the District of Columbia, relating to persons of color.*

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the first section of the act of Feb. 27, 1801, providing that the laws of the State of Maryland, as then existing, should be and continue in force in the District of Columbia, be and the same is hereby repealed; and the said laws of the State of Maryland shall hereafter have no force or effect in said District.

SEC. 2. That the eighth section of the act of May 1, 1820, giving power and authority to the corporation of Washington to pass certain laws and ordinances concerning the negroes, mulattoes, and slaves, be and the same is hereby repealed; and all acts and ordinances passed or in force by virtue of the authority of said section, are hereby repealed.

SEC. 3. That so much of the act of March 3, 1809, as gave to any of the laws of the State of Maryland form or effect in the Corporation of Georgetown, and so much of the act of March 3, 1805, and of the act of March 3, 1809, as gave to the said Corporation of Georgetown power or authority to pass laws or ordinances for the government of free negroes, mulattoes, or slaves, be, and the same is hereby repealed; and all laws or ordinances now in force in said Corporation of Georgetown by virtue of any power or authority conferred by such portions of said acts are hereby repealed.

SEC. 4. That all persons of color in the District of Columbia, or in the corporate limits of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, shall be subject to and amenable to the same laws and ordinances to which free white persons are, or may be, subject and amenable. That they shall be tried for any offences against the laws in the same manner as free white persons are or may be tried for the same offences, and that upon being legally convicted of any crime or offence against any law or ordinance, such persons of color shall be liable to the same penalty or punishment, and no other, as would be imposed or inflicted upon free white persons for the same crime or offence; and all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

THE FORT DONELSON PRISONERS.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

IT will be interesting to relate what one sees of the prisoners coming from Tennessee and Mississippi. They came aboard the steamers in long files, every man being searched. Few have blankets; these are of a dirty white, tolerably warm; many have bed-quilts, a great many more wear pieces of carpeting, gay and shining, torn from the parlors of wealthy households. One regiment is wholly Irish. "What," said one "you here natives of old Ireland, the admirers of Daniel O'Connell; you, to whom in years of famine, we sent ship-loads of provisions?" "Ah, we'd niver been here if we hadn't been poor." None of them had concealed weapons. Many of the officers had, and finding they were to be searched, they dropped them into the river. Their clothes were new; some of the regiments wore black overcoats which looked like fine broadcloth.

Many of the Secesh officers are very bitter. When parting, they shake hands, and say "We may be happy yet." Several say they had rather die than be taken. One officer, getting excited, shot our Lieut.-Col. Nudd in the back. Their side-arms would have been retained. This circumstance caused the order that they be taken from them. Some are very sensible men, and they talk over the battle as calmly as if they had been only spectators. This is exceptional. Some of the privates are bitter; one said in talking to one of our men, "you are a d—d Lincoln Black Republican." Our soldier dropped him with his fist. Most of the privates are humble

they ascribe all the existing troubles; and say they would not wonder, in the event of the hopeless defeat of the South, if Jeff. Davis, Toombs, Breckinridge, and others would run away and leave the people to their fate, as Pillow and Floyd did on Saturday night.

The prisoners are from Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, and Alabama, and nearly all of the privates express their weariness with the war, and declare they are convinced the backbone of the Confederacy is broken. They make no complaint of the result of the battle, but seem quite contented to be prisoners.

Some of the officers are egotistical, presumptuous, pompous, and even insolent; but generally the captives have lost that air of expectation and that sanguine glow they had a month or two ago. That they have lost confidence in the cause they have struggled so energetically to maintain is evident from their crest-fallen appearance. I have seen no such encouraging symptom of the decay of secession as I have found in conversation with the rebels from seven of the principal Southern States.

Nearly all the privates are ignorant and ordinary men, who never owned a slave and never will, but who have been led into the rebellion by misconception of the motives and designs of the Federal government. They confess they have been fairly whipped, and that they fear we have so many good men and such superior arms that they will be worsted in the great encounter between the North and South.

I have rarely seen more resigned men than the rebel prisoners; they seem to think they have enlisted in a bad cause, and one which will never prosper; and that they are heartily tired of fighting, no one who talks any time with them can doubt.

Gen. Buckner asked leave for an interview with Gen. Grant. It was given, and I was present. In their business the negro question came up, and Gen. Grant decided that no negroes found within the lines should be suffered to depart, for the reason that 200 had long worked on the fortifications; officers could take their servants along, but they could not be liberated. "We want laborers, let the negroes work for us." I saw a master receive this decision—he retired silent and sullen.

There will be no difficulty in bringing the common men back again into the Union. But the officers, and those who strive to be, declare they never will be reconciled. Such men lead the majority. It is an important question how to deal with these leaders. It may be a question to decide by our rulers whether the Union is worth their lives.

One officer spoke about as follows: "You may overrun our country, but to retain it, you must send detachments to hold every county seat and every cross road; you may burn our towns and destroy our property, but we will steal up and shoot your men, take refuge in our swamps, and only yield when we die. What is the Union worth at such a cost?" "The Union is worth more than you or I, sir." "But you never can subdue us. It is an impossibility." "What, do you not know that we have the means to conquer you as no other people ever were conquered? But we do not wish to conquer you—we only desire that we have one flag—that we be one people." "We do not want to and we will not be one people." "This war goes step by step; we will occupy Nashville; a new State government will take the place of the old, and you will have a chance to return to your allegiance. If you consent, good, if not, another step will be taken." "What step?" "The last one. We cannot fight always." Men sometimes look into each other's eyes without speaking, and yet speak much.

The impression I have, on the whole, received from many and long conversations both with officers and privates is, that the most of the common people care very little which way the war may terminate, except that it terminate soon. Some passably intelligent men think the duties they owe to their State more to be regarded than those they owe to the General government. Some of the officers are candid, and perhaps would be content with "Squatter Sovereignty." The rest, and frequently the elder as well as the younger, are spiteful as hornets.

WILSON'S BILL TO ABOLISH SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

[In the Senate of the United States, December 16, 1861, Mr. WILSON asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in the following bill; which was read the first time, and ordered to be printed. February 13, 1862, reported by Mr. MORRILL with amendments, viz.: Strike out the words within [brackets] and insert those in *italics*.]

A BILL for the release of certain persons held to service or labor in the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That all persons held to service or labor within the District of Columbia, by reason of African descent, are hereby discharged and freed of and from all claim to such service or labor; *and from and after the passage of this act neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for crime, whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in said District*; [and subjection to service or labor proceeding from such cause shall not hereafter exist in said District.]

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That all persons *loyal to the United States* holding claims to service or labor against persons discharged therefrom by this act may, within ninety days from the passage thereof, but not thereafter, present to the commissioners hereinafter mentioned their respective statements or petitions in writing, verified by oath or affirmation, setting forth the names, ages, and personal description of such persons, the manner in which said petitioners acquired such claim, and any facts touching the value thereof, *and declaring his allegiance to the government of the United States*.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint three commissioners, residents of the District of Columbia, any two of whom shall have power to act, who shall receive the petitions abovementioned [and who shall], investigate and determine the [legal] validity *and value* of the claims therein presented, *as aforesaid*, and [who shall] appraise and apportion, under the proviso hereto annexed, the value in money of the several claims by them found to be valid: *Provided, however*, That the entire sum so appraised and apportioned shall not exceed in the aggregate an amount equal to three hundred dollars for each person shown to have been so held by lawful claim.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That said commissioners shall, within nine months from the passage of this act, make a full and final report of their proceedings, findings and appraisement, and shall deliver the same to the Secretary of the Treasury, which report shall be deemed and taken to be conclusive in all respects, except as hereinafter provided; and the Secretary of the Treasury shall, with like exception, cause the amounts so apportioned to said claims to be paid from the Treasury of the United States to the parties found by said report to be *entitled thereto as aforesaid* [the lawful holders thereof], and the same shall be received in full and complete compensation: *Provided*, That in cases where petitions may be filed presenting conflicting claims or setting up liens, said commissioners shall so specify in said report and payment shall not be made according to the award of said commissioners until a period of sixty days shall have elapsed, during which time any petitioner claiming an interest in the particular amount may file a bill in equity in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, making all other claimants defendants thereto, setting forth the proceedings in such case before said commissioners and their action therein, and praying that the party to whom payment has been awarded may be enjoined from receiving the same; and if said Court shall grant such provisional order, a copy thereof may, on motion of said complainant, be served upon the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall thereupon cause the said amount of money to be paid into said Court, subject to its orders and final decree, which payment shall be in full and complete compensation, as in other cases.

SEC. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That said commissioners shall hold their sessions in the city of Washington, at such place and times as the President of the United States may direct, of which they shall give due and public notice. They shall have power to subpœna and compel the attendance of witnesses, and to receive testimony and enforce its production, as in civil cases before courts of justice; and they may summon[s] before them the persons making claim to service or labor, and examine them under oath; and they may, also, for purposes of identification and appraisement, call before them the persons so claimed. Said commissioners shall appoint a clerk, who shall keep files and complete record of all proceedings before them, who shall have power to administer oaths and affirmations in said proceedings, and who shall issue all lawful process by them ordered. The Marshal of the District of Columbia shall personally, or by deputy, attend upon the sessions of said commissioners, and shall execute the process issued by said clerk.

SEC. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That said commissioners shall receive in compensation for their services the sum of two thousand dollars each, to be paid upon the filing of their report; that said clerk shall receive for his services the sum of two hundred dollars per month; that said marshal shall receive such fees as are allowed by law for similar services performed by him in the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia; that the Secretary of the Treasury shall cause all other reasonable expenses of said commission to be audited and allowed, and that said compensation, fees and expenses shall be paid from the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of carrying this act into effect there is hereby appropriated from the Treasury of the United States a sum not exceeding one million of dollars.

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH HAYTI.—It is reported that when the republic of Hayti is recognized by the United States, President Geffrard will send hither a white man to represent his government at Washington. This may be a concession to those American prejudices against black men which are so much talked of; and it may, on the other hand, be a hint from the Haytian government that it would like in the same way to have its prejudices respected. If Geffrard sends us a white Minister, surely we can do no less than send a black man as Commissioner to Hayti.—*Eve. Post.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

PROPOSITIONS OF COMPROMISE.

The Tribune is "well assured" that a proposition from the rebel leaders for a new *compromise* has been submitted to our government, and that either the programme or its substance is in the hands of a leading Democrat of New York. The object of the rebels in transmitting it to him, *The Tribune* presumes to be the manufacture of public sentiment in its behalf. The gist of the proposition it understands to run thus:

1. An armistice for a specified term, with a view to a peaceful adjustment of all differences.

2. A Convention of the States, with a view to such a revision of the Federal Constitution as will induce the slaveholding rebels to condescend to govern us in the future on terms nearly as favorable as in the past.

That some such scheme as this is in contemplation in certain quarters we entertain no doubt, but that it comes to the government avowedly from the leaders of the Rebellion we do not believe. It was devised, more probably, by some Border State patriots, who wear the livery of the Union only for the purpose of saving slavery from destruction, and who hope to carry the North by a combination of pro-slavery Democracy, old Whiggery, and conservative Republicanism. Let the conspirators beware lest they bring upon their heads an avalanche of Northern indignation.

THE TIME IS SHORT.

THE recent great successes of the Federal arms, their victories at so many and such important points, and the rumors, intrinsically probable, not only of an outspeaking of Union men in various parts of the rebel territory, but of the disposition of a large party in New Orleans itself to capitulate—all these things show an imminent danger now threatening the North. As soon as the existing war ceases, the power (now providentially in the hands of the government) of *directly* attacking and *thoroughly* eradicating slavery, will cease, and we fall again within the limitations of a pro-slavery Constitution. Both President and Congress will then have an excuse for not doing that duty to which they are so averse, that duty for which the will only, not the power, is lacking, while the rebels are yet in arms. Just now, it is fully in the power of Abraham Lincoln to speak the mighty word which shall utterly deprive slavery, throughout the whole country, of its impudent claim to stand on the authority of Law. Just now it is fully in the power of Congress to destroy forever that most brazen of assumptions which proclaims injustice to be justice by force of its having passed through the forms of legal enactment. If these powers, or either of them, should now perform this duty, and decree the immediate and entire abolition of slavery, from that moment no man could put his hand upon another with the claim to *own* him, except in the manner of the highway robber; except by crime as well as sin; except by naked, undisguised violence and tyranny.

Abraham Lincoln has the reputation of being a *pious* man. When he left his home to undertake the arduous duty to which the public voice had called him, he asked the prayers of his neighbors and friends that he might be strengthened for the performance of that duty. If he had religion as well as piety, if he were disposed to *do* his duty after going through the devout form of asking God to *help* him do it, he must long ago have done this act, indispensable alike to the salvation of the country and to the justification, before God and the coming age, of his own administration. If he has ever read the Bible, one sentence of it should have rung in his ears with an importunate emphasis rendering it impossible for him to join in the trivial festivities that have lately disgraced the White House; the words of Mordecai to Esther, uttered when a fearful crisis was impending over *their* nation, and when nothing but courageous promptitude on her part could save it—"WHO KNOWETH WHETHER THOU ART COME TO THE KINGDOM FOR SUCH A TIME AS THIS?" What is the worth of his *piety*, if he refuses thus grossly, openly, persistently, to do his *duty*?

The weight of this duty, and the fearful guilt of violating it, rest also upon the Senate and the House of Representatives. If the President betrays, like Judas, or denies, like Peter, *they* can nevertheless fulfil their obligations to the Master to whom they have sworn allegiance. Every man of them who pretends, at home, to any sense of religious duty, to any respect for justice or moral obligation, should feel his ears tingle, incessantly, with the significance of the question—"WHO KNOWETH WHETHER THOU ART COME TO THE KINGDOM FOR SUCH A TIME AS THIS?" For this cause, surely, they were born, for this cause came they into the world, for this cause, through the various circumstances of life, they were led up to those seats of power, that, when others around them were faithless or cowardly, they might take the responsibility of doing right! In the light of future history, what unspeakable shame must cover the memories of that President, and of every Senator, and of every Representative, if they let the existing opportunity pass without action!

In these days, History is made with a rapidity heretofore unknown. Events hasten and press upon us. "We see them crowding, hurrying, driving on, in wild, uncustomary movements," almost beyond the powers of press and telegraph to record. Who shall say how soon we may have either submission or propositions for negotiation from the rebels? As soon as the war ceases, the direct power of Congress and of the President over slavery ceases. If this event shall come without emancipation, by enactment of the former, or by proclamation of the latter power, not only will *they* be damned to everlasting infamy, but the nation will have lost that "Golden Hour" when complete deliverance was possible. The only question remaining is—Are the people sunk in a lethargy as complete as that of their unfaithful servants? Will *the people* do what yet can be done by petition, will the *Legislatures* of the several States do what yet can be done by instruction and demand, that the closing minutes of this Golden Hour be not wasted?

EXECUTION OF A SLAVE TRADER.—For the first time in the history of the government the law pronouncing the slave trade piracy ("I mean the foreign traffic, sir," as Peleg Sprague said in Faneuil Hall in 1835) has been vindicated by the conviction and execution of a man engaged in the execrable commerce. Capt. Nathaniel Gordon was executed in this city, on Friday, Feb. 21st, notwithstanding the extraordinary and persistent efforts to procure his pardon. He attempted suicide by taking strychnine, but did not get enough to kill him. He was a native of Portland, Maine, and about 35 years of age. From his youth up he had been a sailor, in various capacities, beginning as a cabin-boy and working himself up to the position of captain. His mother is still living, and is an exemplary member of a Church in Portland. He made four voyages to the coast of Africa for negroes to be sold as slaves. Two of these voyages were successful, the negroes having been landed on the Island of Cuba. A third voyage was only partially successful, the negroes having been landed at a Brazilian port. His fourth voyage as a slaver was on board the ship Erie, with which he, his two mates and crew, were captured on the African coast, off the Congo river, by the United States sloop-of-war Mohican, of the African squadron. When the Erie was boarded, the United States officer found a cargo of 967 negroes, consisting of men, women and children. Immediately after the capture, a prize crew was put on board the Erie, under command of a lieutenant as prize-master, and a midshipman, and the ship was headed for Monrovia. On the passage thither 300 of the negroes died and were buried at sea. On their arrival at Monrovia the negroes were duly handed over to the agent of the United States government at that point, and set free.

If any man deserves to be hung, it is the trafficker in human flesh; and yet we believe that Capt. Gordon, bloody as his hands and garments were, was far less guilty in the sight of God in this very matter than the Stuarts, Lords, Blagdens, Adamses, Springs, Van Dykes, and other reverend blasphemers, who have debauched the public sentiment of the North by their atheistic inculcations; having taught that it is no sin to enslave black men, vindicated the infernal Fugitive Slave law in the name of Jesus and Paul, and maintained that the seizure as merchandize of 300,000 babes annually born on the American soil was no violation of the law of God, but a measure of missionary benevolence!

THE SOUTH CAROLINA REFUGEES.

DEEMING it important to keep our readers well informed respecting the character and condition of the Refugees from slavery on the Southern coast, and the measures adopted by the government for their welfare, we publish on the first page a large portion of the report lately submitted by Edward L. Pierce, Esq., the confidential agent sent to Port Royal by the Secretary of the Treasury. We are glad to learn that Mr. Pierce's plans are approved by the government, and that he has been appointed General Superintendent of the Refugees, with all the powers necessary to carry those plans into effect. He will, we understand, enter at once upon the duties of this important office, and we have great confidence in his capacity as well as his disposition to make the experiment of free labor successful. The proceedings recorded below will show the interest felt in these movements by some of the most influential citizens of New York.

NATIONAL FREEDMAN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION.

At a large and enthusiastic meeting of Citizens of New York, held at the Cooper Institute on the evening of Thursday, the 20th day of February, 1862, WILLIAM C. BRYANT in the chair, a Committee was appointed to take such measures as may be necessary for the Relief and Protection of the Emancipated Negroes, now with and near the National forces in the rebel States, and to act as a National Committee to correspond and coöperate with other Committees throughout the country on the same subject.

At a meeting of the Committee held on Friday evening, Feb. 21, Mr. BRYANT in the chair, it was Resolved, That an appeal be made at once to the humane throughout the country to form Auxiliary Committees and contribute means and efforts toward the objects in view.

Therefore, the undersigned appeal to the people throughout the whole land to aid in the work, and appoint Committees in all cities, villages and towns to coöperate with the Parent Committee.

The object in view is one of the highest interest and importance, namely, that of aiding to solve the problem, what shall we do with the negroes when emancipated?

Already thousands of slaves have been practically emancipated by the events of the war, and great additions will be made to the number as our armies continue to advance.

To teach them civilization and Christianity, to imbue them with notions of order, industry, economy and self-reliance, to elevate them in the scale of humanity by inspiring them with self-respect, is the work that is before us.

To this end we ask the coöperation of the wise and the good everywhere.

There is an immediate and pressing necessity for clothing for the Freedmen at Port Royal and its vicinity, and donations for that purpose of plain substantial clothing, new or second-hand, suitable for men, women and children, are asked for without delay, to be sent directed to the Association, at No. 320 Broadway, New York.

Donations in money may be sent to JOSEPH B. COLLINS, the Treasurer, No. 40 Wall street.

New York, Feb. 22, 1862.

Committee.

STEPHEN H. TYNG,	WM. ALLEN BUTLER,
CHARLES GOULD,	GEORGE C. WARD,
CHARLES C. LEIGH,	WM. C. BRYANT,
FRANCIS G. SHAW,	BENJAMIN C. WANDELL,
JOHN W. EDMONDS,	MANSFIELD FRENCH,
EDGAR KETCHUM,	JOSEPH B. COLLINS.

The Rev. Mansfield French, after spending some time in preparatory work in this city, is about to return to Port Royal, accompanied by fifteen or twenty ladies to aid him in teaching, distributing clothing, etc. He will coöperate with Mr. Pierce in setting the negroes to work under plans approved by the government, and which, we hope, will prove entirely successful.

BANCROFT ON TANEY.

GEORGE BANCROFT, in his oration delivered in this city on the recent anniversary of the birthday of Washington, pronounced judgment upon Judge Taney in terms to which every friend of justice and freedom will heartily respond. These are his words:

"But at last 'we have fallen on evil days.' 'The propitious smiles of Heaven'—such are the words of Washington—'can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right.' During eleven years of perverse government those rules were disregarded, and it came to pass that men who should firmly avow the sentiments of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin and Chancellor Livingston were disfranchised for the public service; that the spotless Chief Justice whom Washington placed at the head of our Supreme Court could by no possibility have been nominated for that office, or confirmed. Nay, the corrupt influence invaded even the very home of justice. The final decree of the Supreme Court, in its decision on a particular case, must be respected and obeyed; the present Chief Justice has on one memorable appeal accompanied his decision with an impassioned declamation, wherein with profound immorality which no one has as yet fully laid bare, treating the United States as a shrew to be tamed by an open scorn of the facts of history, with a dreary industry collecting evidences of cases where justice may have slumbered or weakness been oppressed, compensating for want of evidence by confidence of assertion, with a partiality that would have disgraced an advocate neglecting humane decisions of Colonial Courts, and the enduring memorials of colonial statute-books, in his party zeal to prove that the fathers of our country held the negro to have 'no rights which the white man was bound to respect,' he has not only denied the rights of man and the liberties of mankind, but has not left a foothold for the liberty of the white man to rest upon.

"That ill-starred disquisition of Taney, who, I trust, did not intend to hang out the flag of Disunion, is the fountain head of this rebellion: that offense to the conscious memory of the millions convulsed our country with the excitement which swept over those of us who vainly hoped to preserve a strong and sufficient though narrow isthmus that might stand between the conflicting floods. *No nation can adopt that judgment as a rule and live*; the judgment has in it no element of political vitality. I will not say it is an invocation of the dead past; there never was a past that accepted such opinions. If we want the opinions received in the days when our Constitution was framed, we will not take them second-hand from our Chief Justice; we will let the men of that day speak for themselves.

"How will our American magistrate sink when arraigned as he will be, before the tribunal of humanity; how terrible will be the verdict against him, when he is put in comparison with Washington's political teacher, the great Montesquieu, the enlightened magistrate of France, in what are esteemed the worst days of her monarchy. The argument from the difference of race which Taney thrusts forward with passionate confidence, as a proof of complete disqualification, is brought forward by Montesquieu as a scathing satire on all the blood of despots who were supposed to uphold slavery as tolerable in itself. The rights of mankind, that precious word which had no equivalent in the language of Hindostan, or Judea, or Greece, or Rome, or any ante-Christian tongue, found its supporter in Washington and Hamilton; in Franklin and Livingston; in Otis, George Mason and Gadsden; in all the greatest men of our early history."

CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY.—This association, formed nine years since in this city through the efforts of Mr. Charles L. Brace, for the purpose of rescuing from vice the children of the "dangerous classes," has approved itself to the judgment of our most enlightened and philanthropic citizens as one of the most effective schemes of benevolence ever devised. The Ninth Annual Report exhibits results well adapted to cheer those engaged in the enterprise. Through the influence of the association officers have been appointed within the past year by the Commissioners of Police to look after truant children. In two months, more than 500 truants have been made regular attendants on the public schools. There have been provided with homes and employment (mostly at the West) during the past year—Boys 579, Girls 223, Men 26, Women 56—total 884. The whole number thus provided for since the organization of the Society in 1583 is 6,762. The average cost, as estimated by last year's expenditures, is $11 40. Thus it appears that any one disposed to aid in this work can, by a contribution of $50 00, provide a home for four children, and make, in all probability, good, honest, worthy men of as many poor, tempted, unfortunate boys. The association is also doing an incalculable amount of good by means of schools, boys' meetings, the news-boys' lodging-rooms, and other similar instrumentalities. Those who wish for more particular information, or are willing to make contributions to the treasury, or to aid the object in any way, should call at the Society's office in Clinton Hall, Astor Place.

NATURALISTIC REFORMERS.

AMONG those quotable preparations of moral nonsense which certain poets of the last century made up as pious pills for the healing of mankind, there is none better known than that decided declaration of Dr. Young touching the lunacy of the Undevout Astronomer. We need not mention that this, with several other five-word-long jewels of the period, appears in the clearer light at present vouchsafed to be very palpable paste. Neither for the nameless shortcomings of the irreverent star-gazer, nor for the notorious deficiencies of his very reverent stigmatizer, can we admit the excuse of insanity. The Undevout Astronomer (particularly if he be regular with his dumb-bell exercise) is at present graciously permitted to enjoy the undisturbed possession of his wits. Parallax is acknowledged to have no connection with piety, and the Tables of the Law are not an indispensable introduction to the tables of logarithms. So far, let us admit, the prevailing scepticism is healthy and to the purpose. But to infer, as thousands are to-day seduced into doing, that he who not only observes but aspires to direct the political cosmogony needs no religious conviction, nothing more than calculating selfishness—this is a grievous and fatal delusion. Thus we hold that the work of Emancipation Leagues, Political Economists and Collectors of Statistics must be of inferior and supplementary value to that moral appeal to the American people which it is our privilege to represent. Shall it be said that the business of Abolitionists is in other hands because it is popular for lecturers and newspapers to exclaim, "Let us cleanse ourselves of blood-guiltiness, it is sure to pay fifty per cent.—let us make it lawful for four million of people to read the New Testament, because we are politically ruined if we do not, and real estate will treble in value if we do"? Truly the boldest figure of Scripture seems to apply itself to such reasoners; He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh them to scorn. Now, it is a fact alike creditable and significant, that the Abolitionists, while under the necessity of denouncing the American Churches, have never wavered in their allegiance to the distinctive character of Christian doctrine. From the first they have had a clear perception of the folly which attempts to eradicate sin, individual or national, by appealing solely to prudential motives. They perceived that in no way do narrow and thoughtless men more fatally betray their *infidelity* than by endeavoring to solve moral difficulties by material considerations. So far as that favorite term of theological invective, "*mere naturalistic reformers*," can be made to carry any just reproach, it has never come near the Abolitionists. It is only fatuity that could propose to reform a swindler by getting his intellectual assent to the copy-book maxim concerning Honesty, or to redeem a spendthrift from the slough of sensualism by proving mathematically that the fullest enjoyment of the senses was only consistent with purity of life. A sad experience has declared that the man who bases his character on considerations of profit and loss finds his moral nature impotent to undertake a course which interest points out. Christianity never taught that men or nations are to be saved by demonstrations of self-interest, be they ever so perfect. Behind all phenomenal manifestations of evil it recognizes a hardness of heart that they represent, and demands a measure of reformation that shall reach the root of the disorder. Our chief hope during the trying days before us must be in the voices raised to protest *on moral and religious grounds* against taking back the accursed thing, which has outlawed itself alike from constitutional policy and ethical allowance. We believe in denouncing the voluntary and gratuitous reassumption of this destroying sin from the Bible—not from the ledger or cash-book. In the large concerns of societies and governments the expediency of doing right can be estimated only by a few, while the moral obligation may be felt by all. Yet to those who honestly think it necessary to provide an emulsion of *policy* to soothe the labor of direct and righteous action, we can offer nothing better than this sentence of Edmund Burke: "JUSTICE IS OF ITSELF THE GREAT STANDING POLICY OF CIVIL SOCIETY; AND ANY EMINENT DEPARTURE FROM IT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, LIES UNDER SUSPICION OF BEING NO POLICY AT ALL." *

FROM THE BORDERS OF "EGYPT."

ELMWOOD, Peoria Co., Ill.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

IN my public advocacy of immediate emancipation I do not find the way so thornless, here on the borders of "Egypt," as was that of your eloquent Cincinnati correspondent, in Ohio. There is no lack of hearers, my meetings are always full, many hear the unvarnished truth joyfully; but in the Southern part of this State a mingled blind hatred and dread of the negro is the ruling passion, and the mobbing of an Abolition or Woman's Rights lecturer is a saving ordinance.

Some time since I went, by invitation, to speak and circulate petitions in Elba, Knox County. I had spoken there before, and, knowing the place, was not surprised to learn, on arriving there, that certain of the baser sort had sworn a great oath never to permit another Abolition speech to be made there. I had just commenced speaking, when the gang, fourteen in number, came in, headed by a wealthy, but noisy, ignorant and brutal man, bringing with them a strong odor of the "extract of sod corn." Of course we smelt whiskey and a rat at once. Standing close together, they awaited the signal, which was the occurrence of the word emancipation in the course of my remarks, when their leader, yelling and stamping, called on his gang to make good their promise. At this, several stout fellows sprang to their feet, declaring that there should be fair play and free speech at any hazard, and for awhile a general fight seemed inevitable; but the free speech men, being a majority, overawed the rioters, whose ranting leader sat down in despair, and so "dry" with excitement, that, like Pip's Convict, something clicked in his throat when he swallowed, as if he had works in him.

I then finished my speech in comparative quiet, but the poor fellows who signed my petition had to pass through a fiery furnace to do so, each one being assailed as he came forward with a storm of hisses, groans and jeers; their signatures, as a consequence, looking as though the spirit of Stephen Hopkins had controlled the hands of the writers. The next evening I spoke at Eugene, three miles farther North, whither a part of the Elba audience followed, including most of the rowdies, who came hoping to have better success in breaking up this meeting. For half an hour they succeeded in keeping up a perfect pandemonium, but for the remainder of the evening the meeting was as solemn and attentive as any I ever held.

Free speech and earnest attention are the rule, however, and these violent demonstrations the exception.

A little incident will serve to illustrate the blind negro hate which is a power in our State.

A company of volunteers was leaving this place for St. Louis; a great crowd of relatives and friends had gathered around to say good-bye, and one poor woman, whose husband had just parted from her and taken his place in the ranks, was seated on a pile of lumber crying bitterly. A bright little negro boy, some six years old, edged along up to her with a shy sort of sympathy, the big tears welling up in his own eyes at sight of her grief, when she caught a glimpse of him, and raising her wet face from her hands, snarled out, sharply: "Clear out, you little black devil, you; you're the cause of the war and all this trouble; clear out"! and then, dropping her face into her hands again, went on with her sobbing.

I have no patience with this new horror that threatens the colored race under the name of colonization. If anybody is to be banished, why should it not be the guilty party—the slaveholders? We have crucified the Christ of this age, and have buried him in the sepulchre of a beast; we have heaped upon him the stones of opprobrium, and wrong, and outrage, and have inscribed thereon "NIGGER," and now, with United States officials standing guard at that sepulchre, what wonder is it that the American Temple is rent asunder, and that dead Churches and politicians are crawling out of their loathsome graves? And yet, our bedeviled government, seeing that the angel of liberty is about to roll away the stones and let the slave come forth, makes haste to revive the miserable cheat and injustice of colonization, so that North and South, having joined in giving the last possible turn to the screw of oppression on our own soil, may now unite in kicking their victim out of the land of his birth, and crucifying him afresh wherever they can find territory suitable for a Calvary.

E. R. BROWN.

* The publication of this letter has been unavoidably delayed.—*Editor.*

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU....LXIII.

FEBRUARY 7th, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: The communications which I have lately seen in THE STANDARD on the affair of the Trent show me what I ought now to do. I have to request space in your columns for a few words—not, certainly, by way of reply to anything that has been said, but as a key to my own letters on that and other topics. It is a subject of strong regret to me, and to other friends of the Cause, that any key should be needed at all.

For a quarter of a century the American Abolitionists have appealed to the world, and particularly to English Abolitionists, against the sins of their own government and people. By that lofty patriotism they secured our sympathy and service. In this sympathy my service, such as it is, has been rendered for five and twenty years; and in that spirit and confidence I have written to you, up to this hour. It now appears that you have descended from that lofty patriotism, to fall behind even your own non-Abolitionist government, by defending or excusing an outrage condemned by all Christendom; and this leaves me no choice but to withdraw from THE STANDARD. It never could have entered the imagination of your friends here that Abolitionists, who were once so superior to pseudo-patriotism as to take for their motto, "Our country is the World, and our countrymen are all mankind," could, in the very crisis of their nation's virtue and hope, condescend to say, practically, "Our country, right or wrong"; but, as you have so chosen your stand-point, and consequently misapprehended my correspondence, that correspondence must cease.

I shall be careful not to impute any such change to others than those who have avowed it. I know that some hold the old position, and are in sympathy with English Abolitionists accordingly; and I trust that there are many. While, however, you, sir, and some of your contributors, occupy a different stand-point from them and me, my letters would be, not only useless, but misleading, for they must appear as untrue to you as your recent articles and communications on the Trent affair do to us.

Happily, the larger part of my work for the anti-slavery cause lies here. In that, I hope to labor while I live; and I am sure that that Cause and its promoters will always have my heartfelt good wishes, as they have had my faithful service. It is in the spirit of that service that I now bid you farewell.

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

REMARKS BY THE EDITOR.

While we must explicitly repel the imputation upon ourselves and "some of our contributors" which Mrs. Martineau puts forward as her reason for the act, we nevertheless think she does well to discontinue her correspondence with THE STANDARD. Her recent letters, it is not to be denied, have given serious offence to American Abolitionists, and we should be sorry to think that they have truly reflected the spirit of our British coadjutors. Our belief is that she is entitled to speak not for them, but only for herself.

We are not aware that, in anything we have said in relation to the Trent affair, we have descended by so much as a hair's-breadth from "that lofty patriotism" which has ever characterized the American anti-slavery movement. That Capt. Wilkes, misled by British authority and example, committed a breach of international law, we readily grant; but we do not therefore admit that he acted the part of a ruffian and a pirate, nor that the people of the North, in their exultation over the capture of the rebel ambassadors, while yet the legal questions raised by the act had not been tried, proved themselves a "mob," and unfitted for self-government. Capt. Wilkes, we have every reason to believe, thought his course justified by international law, and his purpose was not to insult Great Britain, but to protect the rights of his own government. If, in presenting the case in this light, we have even sunk ourselves so far in Mrs. Martineau's esteem that she can no longer coöperate with us, we do not see how it can be helped. That it has "entered the imagination" of anybody besides herself to charge us with "saying, practically, 'Our country, right or wrong,'" we cannot for a moment believe. If our constant attitude toward the government of our country is not a sufficient refutation of this charge, we must bear the impeachment as patiently as we can. We must be excused for expressing the opinion, that if Mrs. Martineau had kept herself as clear of blind partisanship and "pseudo patriotism" in behalf of the Palmerston ministry as we have from a similar infirmity in respect to the Administration of President Lincoln, she would have had better ground for self-complacency than any she can now find. Whether we have forfeited our claims to "sympathy and service" from the Abolitionists of England by any abatement of fidelity in rebuking "the sins of our own government and people," let those who read our columns decide. We certainly "shall be careful not to impute" such an opinion to British Abolitionists generally until they "avow" it for themselves, or we have unmistakable evidence that Mrs. Martineau is authorized to speak for them.

A PLAN FOR THE COLONIZATION OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

THE great question which is to agitate the nation for the next decade after the close of the war is, "What shall we do with the slaveholers?" We of the Northern States are devout believers in ethnology: we know that two diverse races or varieties of men cannot exist together on an equality; that one inevitably swallows up or obliterates the other. Now, under the Darwinian process of "a gradual accumulation of profitable (or unprofitable, as it has turned out) changes" a new variety of man has been formed in the slaveholding States. The steady, law-abiding, work-loving, self-controlled Anglo-American of the North has become the lazy, passionate, law-contemning, tyrannical American of the South. Between the Carolina aristocrat and the New England mechanic are all the differences, moral and temperamental, that exist between the French and the English. The two are now in deadly opposition. One or the other must go to the wall. Of course, the superior and educated race must exterminate the inferior. And though we have not a "cursed be Canaan" text from the Bible to justify their extermination or removal, yet we have some that approach the matter, as "Woe unto him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work."

But the great and important reason for removing the slaveholder is, that *he will not work*. All agree that without slavery he will do nothing. He is incorrigibly lazy. He is willing to play the soldier, to act the master, to wear the mask of the gentleman; but he has a great aversion to hard labor. Now, the world demands cotton and rice and sugar. If Anglo-Southerner prefers his "pumpkin" to labor, he must be made to labor, or be driven out.

It is possible, indeed, that through the philanthropic efforts of some Slaveholders' Colonization Society, when placed in new circumstances, he may be reclaimed and induced to work. But, here on the soil, he could never be made to do so. He is of little value to this country, except to fill some public offices, which others can occupy equally well. His principal contributions to the Republic have been disgrace abroad, dissensions at home, and a war costing some $300,000,000.

Some very simple-minded individuals have proposed (for what reason is entirely obscure) the colonization of the slaves rather than the masters. Not to speak of the fact that we should then be rewarding treason and punishing loyalty by transporting millions of our most faithful citizens and leaving their lands to traitors, how are we to pay the expenses or procure the vessels for the emigration of four million of human beings? If it cost on an average $50 each to transplant them, and five hundred could be put in each vessel, it would require then $400,000,000 for the cost of this wise measure, and at least 8,0000 ships; whereas the masters—supposing them to number 350,000—could be exported for $17,500,000, and could be stowed in 700 ships. Then, again, the slaves in a state of bondage are worth in the Southern market at least $2,000,000,000.

Can we afford—are we at this time so rich, that we can give away this sum, or a much larger one, considering the value of the negroes in a state of freedom?

Spain expelled her Moorish artisans and France her Huguenot laborers, and philosophers think that both countries never recovered the loss. How much cheaper would be for us the deportation of the slaveholders! Each slave-master can hardly at this time be worth to the country his "keep." He is heavily in debt to Northern merchants, and he has cost, and is likely to cost, millions more to the North than he will ever produce. Instead of losing two thousand million of dollars by exporting the negroes, why not gain millions by colonizing the masters? With the slaveholders gone would be gone internal dissension, foreign filibustering, barbarism in Congress, crime in private life, repudiation in business, treason in public and the danger of civil war. With the negroes gone, would be lost loyal citizens, industrious producers and all the agriculture of some of the richest districts in the world.

Of course, human nature should never be despaired of, and, under happier circumstances, the Southern slaveholder might be reformed into an honest and industrious worker. The question would arise, Where should these three hundred and fifty thousand be sent? Liberia is too far, and the voyage too expensive. In the West Indies, the industry of the emancipated negroes would be too painful a contrast to their idle habits, and they might be oppressed by the superior colored race.

We are not sure but that Mexico is the best place. There they would have a king (which Mr. Russell represents they have been sighing for), and an Austrian one, which would suit their previous habits of power. They would not be obliged in that happy country to toil with their hands, but they could live on plunder and revolutions. They have been peculiarly anxious to be intimately associated with England and France; there, they would be directly under an Anglo-French protective government. They have doted on the slave trade; there, they could fraternize with the great patrons of that commerce—the Spaniards.

Why, then, will not our philanthropists found a "Society for the Colonization of the Slaveholders"—looking towards Mexico as the place of settlement?

C. L. B.

LETTER FROM A. T. FOSS.

PETERBORO, Feb. 20, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I COMMENCED an anti-slavery lecturing tour in the State of New York in the early part of January last, and up to this time have had one of the most unsuccessful journeys it has ever been my lot to make since I have been in the lecturing field. My arrangements for meetings have been broken up by the terrible storms of snow that have filled the highways and byways, so that they were impassable. Besides, on the evenings when I had meetings appointed and the snow did not interfere with them, the sidewalks were so icy and slippery that it was dangerous to life and limb to go upon them. This was especially the case in Utica, where the expenses exce

defeat or postpone the measure, but in vain. There is no doubt, we presume, that the bill will pass the Senate by an equally decisive majority. We are not so sure that the pro-slavery officers of the army and navy will obey the law.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24, 1862.

MR. WILSON, not content with a bill to emancipate the slaves now in the District of Columbia, has introduced another of fully equal importance, to repeal the Black Code of the District which applies with such inhuman rigor to the free blacks here.* It provides, first, that the first section of the act of 1801 extending the laws of Maryland over this people shall have no force hereafter, and that a section of a law passed in 1820, giving the Corporation of Washington special power to pass laws in reference to colored people shall be repealed, also similar acts in reference to Georgetown; and, finally, it provides that all people of color in the District shall be amenable to the laws exactly as white people are.

It may not be amiss, for a moment, to glance at some of these horrid regulations and enactments which will be abolished when Mr. Wilson's bill becomes a law. Here are a few:

If any free negro or mulatto intermarry with any white woman, or if any white man shall intermarry with any negro or mulatto woman, such negro or mulatto shall become a slave during life. (1717, chap. 13.)

No free negro or mulatto shall be admitted and received as good and valid evidence in law, in any matter or thing whatsoever, wherein any Christian white person is concerned. (1717, chap. 13.)

Where any slave shall be guilty of rambling, going abroad in the night, riding horses in the day time without leave, or running away, the Justices of the County court are obliged, upon the application of the owner of such slave, or the complaint of any person who shall be any ways damnified by such slave, immediately to punish such slave by whipping, cropping, or branding in the cheek with the letter R, or otherwise, not extending to life or to render such slave unfit for labor. (1751, chap. 14.)

If any person shall willingly entertain any servants or slaves unlawfully absenting themselves from their master, or permit them to be about his or her house or plantation during one hour or longer, such person shall be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco for each hour such servant or slave shall be permitted to be about his or her house or plantation, to be recovered in a summary way before a single magistrate, with costs, and if the offender be unable to pay, the magistrate may punish such offender by whipping, on his or her bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes for any one offense. (1748, chap. 19.)

If any slave shall strike any white person, upon proof being made thereof before any justice of the peace, either by the oath of the party so struck or otherwise, such justice may cause one of the ears of such slave to be cropped. (1723, chap. 15.)

When any slave shall be convicted of any petit treason, or murder, or willful burning of dwelling houses, the Justice may condemn such slave to have the right hand cut off; to be hanged in the usual manner; the head severed from the body, the body divided into four quarters, the head and quarters set up in the most public places of the County. (1729, chap. 4.)

Upon information to any Justice of the Peace that any free negro or mulatto is going at large without any visible means of subsistence, such justice is required to issue his warrant to any constable of the County, directing him to apprehend such free negro or mulatto; and if such free negro or mulatto shall fail to give security for his good behavior, or to leave the State within five days, or if after leaving the State he shall return again within six months, such Justice may commit said free negro or mulatto to the common jail; and if such offender so committed shall not within twenty days thereafter pay his or her prison charges, the Sheriff of the County, with the approbation of any two Justices of the Peace, may sell such free negro or mulatto to serve six calendar months. (1796, chap. 67.)

If any free colored person is found going at large after ten o'clock at night without a pass from some respectable citizen, he shall be fined not exceeding ten dollars, and locked up until morning. (May 31, 1827.)

Persons of color frequenting the Capitol square without necessary business, and refusing to depart, shall be fined not exceeding twenty dollars, or confined to labor not more than thirty days for each offense. (January 9, 1829.)

And so on for pages might I quote. Any colored man, free or slave, out after ten o'clock at night, must pay a fine, half of which goes to the constable making the arrest, and heretofore dozens of men in this city have got their entire income by prosecuting colored people under this law. If a slave breaks a street-lamp, he is to be whipped on the back; if he sets a heap of shavings on fire in the street or on any open lot, he is to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back; if he bathe in the canal, he is to be publicly whipped, and so on to the end of the dreadful chapter. It must be remembered that these laws are still in force in Washington, and that the people of the free States are responsible for their enactment and daily enforcement. The barbarities enumerated may be repeated any day under Mr. Lincoln's administration until Senator Wilson's bill becomes a law. Of course every faint-hearted politician in Congress will try to stave off action on the subject. There are such men in plenty in Republican ranks. Diven of New York is opposed to *any* interference with slavery. Wherein is he different from any Democratic member, except that he is false to his principles and the Democrat is true to his? They *act* alike, while making entirely different professions. Everything depends upon this class of Republicans in Congress. If *they* vote right, there will be no difficulty in carrying any necessary measure in reference to slavery, so far as Congress is concerned. It is possible that Mr. Lincoln would veto a radical measure, but not probable.

Judge Culver delivered a most admirable lecture at the Smithsonian on Friday evening last, on the great subject which agitates the people in all parts of the country. It is to be hoped that Gerrit Smith can be heard in the same place during the present week, as it is understood that he is willing to speak, being now present in Washington. There is some doubt on the subject, as the series of lectures is to conclude with the delivery of two more, which are provided for. But there is a strong desire to hear Mr. Smith here, and if possible an evening will be allotted to him. It is a pity that such men as Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher should have declined the invitation of the Lecture Association. They would have drawn out an immense concourse of people, and could have accomplished a vast deal of good by coming—much more in the present condition of things here than men less renowned and less popular. The course of lectures has been a decided success, every way, and it will undoubtedly be repeated hereafter.

The great contest in Congress upon the slavery question is rapidly approaching. It will not be upon any measure for the abolition of slavery in this District, though that may excite very bitter opposition, but it will be upon the bill or bills for the government of the disloyal States. Upon these measures a great debate and an exciting contest will arise. There is an almost fierce determination on the part of some gentlemen to stave off all consideration of this subject. The reason is apparent. They wish to leave the path toward compromise clear. They will not permit, if they can help it, any legislation in Congress *now* which could not pass if the disloyal States were fully represented in it. Some members of Congress do not deny that they wish by every means in their power to *invite back* the rebellious States. The most infamous speech of the week was delivered by the notorious Voorhees of Indiana on the war, and it can only be equalled at any time in Congress by Vallandigham. Both Houses of Congress have been so busy the past week in the consideration of the Treasury Note bill that it has been difficult to guage the anti-slavery sentiment in either. Wilson's emancipation bill—for the District of Columbia—sleeps as yet on the Senate calendar. Other measures, against slavery in the disloyal States, are yet in the Committee-room.

The distressing event at the Presidential mansion causes much sadness in the city, for Mr. Lincoln is a very kind-hearted man and doted on this boy. The sympathy for him is very wide-spread. The brilliant illuminations of the evening, which were entirely arranged for, have stopped, and as the House of Representatives intimated on Saturday morning that they did not wish any rebel-flag presentations to be made there, to Congress, the only ceremony on Saturday was the reading of Washington's Farewell Address, which was listened to by a very large number of people, many of whom are distinguished. The general opinion here seems to be that the entire affair was a farce, and a failure at that. But I will not be too severe. If the members of Congress could gain any good by gathering together with the Cabinet, the great Generals, and the foreign diplomats, and listening to the reading of Washington's Farewell Address by Mr. Secretary Forney, no one would say a word against the proceeding, but it seemed to be nevertheless a strange proceeding. The vast crowd came out to see a presentation of rebel flags to Congress, and that was given up on motion of Mr. Crittenden. Lovejoy says it was to avoid giving offence to the rebels, but this reason did not animate all who voted to dispense with the flag-presentation. Some were in earnest in disliking to dignify the rebel rags in this manner. But some, under the lead of Mr. Crittenden, did not like to do anything which should mortify the rebels in case they are invited back into the Union on good terms. Some of our Border State "brethren" in Congress keep this idea prominently in view. They never let go of it, and their courage, perseverance and tenacity are such that I expect they will yet triumph in bringing back Toombs, Davis, Mason, Slidell and others in triumph to Congress, with new guarantees for slavery! There is new talk here of a great battle on the Potomac. You have heard this talked of so often that you will not believe it, and likely as not it is the safest course to pursue. But the Potomac Generals begin to *act* as if something was the matter, as if "the eternal bung was loose." They are alarmed for their laurels. McClellan is getting nervous. Grant is getting ahead of him—Burnside grows popular—Halleck is standing high in the affections of the people of the West. McClellan must *do* something to hold his own against these victorious Generals and you may wake some morning to hear of a battle on the Potomac with a hundred thousand men on a side, or you may hear that the rebel army has retreated upon Richmond. Everything is uncertain just now, and almost any event is among the possibilities. So perhaps it is best to wait another week without making any predictions.

AVON.

* See first page.—*Editor.*

THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY (John, Henry, Frank and Viola) propose to make a short tour, during the present month, through the eastern part of Pennsylvania, and would be pleased to make arrangements for concerts in advance. They sing of Liberty and Union, Patriotism and Virtue. If any reader of THE STANDARD in any town of the eastern part of the State, or of the parts of Delaware and New Jersey adjacent, desires to have, or is willing to coöperate in getting up, a concert, and will send word to that effect, to J. M. McKim, No. 106 North-Tenth street, Philadelphia, the "Family" will do what they can to accommodate him. Information as to the place in which, and the proper time at which, the concert had best be held, should be contained in the letter.

New Publications.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for March contains the usual variety of interesting matter, under the following titles: "The Fruits of Free Labor in the Smaller Islands of the British West Indies," by Charles L. Brace; "A Story of To-Day," continued; "Mountain Pictures—I., Franconia from the Pemigewasset"—by J. G. Whittier (see fourth page); "The Use of the Rifle," by H. W. S. Cleveland; "Agnes of Sorrento," continued, by Mrs. Stowe; "Methods of Study in Natural History," by Prof. Agassiz; "The Southern Cross," by Mrs. A. D. T. Whitney; "Concerning the Sorrows of Childhood," by the "Country Parson"; "The Rehabilitation of Spain," by C. C. Hazewell; "A Raft that no Man made," by Robert T. S. Lowell; "Fremont's Hundred Days in Missouri," concluded, by William Dorsheimer; "Birdofredom Sawin, Esq,, to Mr. Hosea Biglow," by James Russell Lowell (see fourth page); "Taxation," by Edward Everett; "Voyage of the Good Ship Union," by Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Mr. Brace, "under the guidance of candid observers and travellers, such as Schomburg, Breen, Cochin, Burnley, and, best of all, Sewell," states very clearly the results of emancipation in the smaller islands of the British West Indies, with special reference to their bearing upon the common objection, "that the negro will not work unless he is forced to." The statistics have often been presented to our readers, but the great mass even of intelligent people are still ignorant of them, and under the influence of prejudices born of falsehood and nurtured by sympathy with oppression; and therefore we deem it special occasion for thanksgiving when the truth finds its way into pages so widely circulated and so influential as those of *The Atlantic*. Every day we read or hear the affirmation, that the negro will not work in a state of freedom; and so widely is this falsehood accepted for truth, that thousands of well-meaning persons regard emancipation as synonymous with idleness, improvidence and crime, and hold its advocates to be fanatics of the most dangerous type. It is strange that a lie so utterly baseless, and which sets at defiance every principle of human nature and every fact of history, should gain credence among a people professing to believe that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; but so it is, and therefore the true friends of freedom must patiently labor for the enlightenment of their fellow-citizens, giving "line upon line, precept upon precept," fact upon fact, until the refuges of falsehood are swept utterly away.

Mr. Dorsheimer, in concluding his history of Fremont's Hundred Days in Missouri, says:

"The writer cannot refrain from expressing his regret that circumstances have prevented him from making that exposition of affairs in the Western Department which the country has long expected. While he was in the field, Gen. Fremont permitted the attacks of his enemies to pass unheeded, because he held them unworthy to be intruded upon more important occupations, and he would not be diverted from the great objects he was pursuing; since his recall, considerations affecting the public service, and the desire not at this time to embarrass the government with personal matters, have sealed his lips. I will not now disregard his wishes by entering into any detailed discussion of the charges which have been made against him—but I cannot lay down my pen without bearing voluntary testimony to the fidelity, energy, and skill which he brought to his high office. It will be hard for any one who was not a constant witness of his career to appreciate the labor which he assumed and successfully performed. From the first to the last hour of the day, there was no idle moment. No time was given to pleasure—none even to needed relaxation. Often, long after the strength of his body was spent, the force of his will bound him to exhausting toil. No religious zealot ever gave himself to his devotions with more absorbing abandonment that Gen. Fremont to his hard, and, as it has proved, most thankless task. Time will verify the statement, that, whether as respects thoroughness or enconomy, his administration of affairs at the West will compare favorably with the transactions of any other department of the government, military or civil, during the last nine months.

"When Gen. Fremont reached St. Louis, the Federal militia were returning to their homes, and a confident foe pressed upon every salient point of an extended and difficult defensive position. Drawing his troops from a few sparsely settled and impoverished States, denied expected and needed assistance in money and material from the general government, he overcame every obstacle, and at the end of eight weeks led forth an army of thirty thousand men, with five thousand cavalry and eighty-six pieces of artillery. Officers of high rank declared that this force could not leave its encampments by reason of the lack of supplies and transportation; but he conveyed them one hundred and ninety miles by rail, marched them one hundred and thirty-five miles, crossing a broad and rapid river, in five days, and in three months from his assumption of the command, and in one month after leaving St. Louis, placed them in presence of the enemy—not an incoherent mass, but a well-ordered and compact army, upon whose valor, steadfastness and discipline, the fate of the nation might safely have been pledged.

"If Gen Fremont was not tried by the crowning test of the soldier—the battle-field—it was not through fault of his. On the very eve of battle he was removed. His army was arrested in its triumphal progress, and compelled to a shameful retreat, abandoning the beautiful region it had wrested from the foe, and deserting the loyal people who trusted to its protection, and who, exiles from their homes, followed its retreating files—a mournful procession of broken-hearted men, weeping women, and suffering children. With an unscrupulousness which passes belief, the authors of this terrible disaster have denied the presence of the enemy at Springfield. The miserable wretches, once prosperous farmers upon the slopes of the Ozark Hills, who now wander mendicants through the streets of St. Louis, or crouch around the camp-fires of Rolla and Sedalia, can tell whether Price was near Springfield or not.

"Forty-eight hours must have given to Gen. Fremont an engagement. What the result would have been no one who was there doubted. A victory such as the country has long desired and sorely needs—a decisive, complete, and overwhelming victory—was as certain as it is possible for the skill and valor of man to make certain any future event. Now, twenty thousand men are required to hold our long line of defence in Missouri; then, five thousand at Springfield would have secured the State of Missouri, and a column pushed into Arkansas would have turned the enemy's position upon the Mississippi. In the same time and with the same labor that the march to the rear was made, two States might have been won, and the fate of the rebellion in the South-west decided.

"While I am writing these concluding pages, the telegraph brings information that another expedition has started for Springfield. Strong columns are marching from Rolla, Sedalia and Versailles, to do the work which Gen. Fremont stood ready to do last November. After three months of experience and reflection, the enterprise which was denounced as aimless, extravagant and ill-judged, which was derided as a wild hunt after an unreal foe, an exploration into desert regions, is now repeated in face of the obstacles of difficult roads and an inclement season, and when many of the objects of the expedition no longer exist—for, unhappily, the loyal inhabitants of those fertile uplands, the fruitful farms and pleasant homes, are no longer there to receive the protection of our armies. Gen. Fremont's military conduct could not have received more signal approval. The malignant criticisms of his enemies could in no other manner have been so completely refuted. Unmoved by the storm of calumny and detraction which raged around him, he has calmly and silently awaited the unerring judgment, the triumphant verdict, which he knew time and the ebb of the bad passions his success excited would surely bring."

Of Birdofredom Sawin, Esquire's, epistle to Mr. Hosea Biglow an extract will be found on the fourth page; but we must copy here this attractive picture of the aristocracy created and fostered by slavery:

"I 've been a-readin' in Debow ontil I 've fairly gut
So 'nlightened thet I 'd full ez lives ha' ben a Dook ez nut;
An' when we 've laid ye all out stiff, an' Jeff hez gut his crown,
An' comes to pick his nobles out, *wun't* this child be in town!
We 'll hev an Age o' Chivverlry surpassin' Mister Burke's,
Where every fem'ly is fus'-best an' nary white man works:
Our system 's sech, the thing 'll root ez easy ez a tater;
For while your lords in furrin parts ain't noways marked by natur',
Nor sot apart from ornery folks in features nor in figgers,
Ef ourn 'll keep their faces washed, you 'll know 'em from their niggers.
Ain't *sech* things wuth secedin' for, an' gittin' red o' you
Thet waller in your low idees, an' will till all is blue?
Fact is, we *air* a diff'rent race, an' I, for one, don't see,
Sech havin' ollers ben the case, how w' ever *did* agree.
It 's sunthin' thet you lab'rin'-folks up North hed ough' to think on,
Thet Higgses can't bemean themselves to rulin' by a Lincoln,—
Thet men. (an' guv'nors, tu,) thet hez sech Normal names ez Pickens,
Accustomed to no kin' o' work, 'thout 't is to givin' lickens,
Can't masure votes with folks thet git their livins from their farms
An' prob'ly think thet Law 's ez good ez hevin' coats o' arms.
Sence I 've ben here, I 've hired a chap to look about for me
To git me a transplantable an' thrifty fem'ly-tree,
An' he tells *me* the Sawins is ez much o' Normal blood
Ez Pickens an' the rest on 'em, an' older 'n Noah's flood.
Your Normal schools wun't turn ye into Normals, for it's clear,
Ef eddykatin' done the thing, they 'd be some skurcer here.
Pickenses, Bogges, Pettuses, Magoffins, Letchers, Polks,—
Where can you scare up names like them among your mud-sill folks?
Ther' 's nothin' to compare with 'em, you 'd fin', ef you should glance,
Among the tip-top femerlies in Englan', nor in France:
I 've hearn from 'sponsible men whose word wuz full ez good 's their note,
Men thet can run their face for drinks, an' keep a Sunday coat,
Thet they wuz all on 'em come down, an' come down pooty fur,
From folks thet, 'thout their crowns wuz on, ou'doors would n' never stir.
Nor thet ther' warn't a Southun man but wut wuz *primy fashy*
O' the bes' blood in Europe, yis, an' Afriky an' Ashy:
Sech bein' the case, is 't likely we should bend like cotton-wickin',
Or set down under anythin' so low-lived ez a lickin'?
More 'n this,—hain't we the literatoor an' science, tu, by gorry?
Hain't we them intellectle twins, them giants, Simms an' Maury,
Each with full twice the ushle brains, like nothin' thet I know,
'Thout 't wuz a double-headed calf I see once to a show?"

The Southern method of securing unanimity in public movements is thus graphically depicted:

"But Jeff he hit upon a way o' helpin' on us forrard
By bein' unannermous,—a trick you ain't quite up to, Norrard.
A baldin hain't no more 'f a chance with them new appleCorers
Than folks's oppersition views against the Ringtail Roarers;
They 'll take 'em out on him 'bout east,—one canter on a rail
Makes a man feel unannermous ez Jonah in the whale;
Or ef he 's a slow-moulded cuss thet can't seem quite t' agree,
He gits the noose by tellergraph upon the nighes' tree:
Their mission-work with Afrikins hez put 'em up, thet 's sartin,
To all the mos' across-lot ways o' preachin' an' convartin';
I 'll bet my hat th' ain't nary priest, nor all on 'em together,
Thet cairs conviction to the min' like Reveren' Taranfeather;
Why, he sot up with me one night, an' labored to sech purpose,
Thet (ez an owl by daylight 'mongst a flock o' teazin chirpers
Sees clearer 'n mud the wickedness o' eatin' little birds)
I see my error an' agreed to shen it arterwurds;
An' I should say, (to jedge our folks by facs in my possession,)
Thet three 's Unannermous where one 's a Riginal Secession;
So it 's a thing you fellers North may safely bet your chink on,
Thet we 're all water-proofed agin th' usurpin' reign o' Lincoln."

THE CONTINENTAL MONTHLY for March is not less interesting than its predecessors. We give the table of contents, as follows: "Southern Aids to the North," by C. G. Leland; "Westward," poetry; "Is Cotton our King?" by Edward Atkinson; "General Patterson's Campaign in Virginia"—scathing, but just; "The Game of Fate," poetry; "Jonathan Edwards and the Old Clergy," by Rev. W. Frothingham; "Hemming Cotton," poetry; "One of my Predecessors," by Bayard Taylor; "The Late Chancellor Campbell;" "Child's Call at Eventide," poetry; "The Good Wife—A Norwegian Story"; "The Huguenot Families in America," by G. P. Disosway; "Maccaroni and Canvass," by H. P. Leland; "John Lothrop Motley," by Delia L. Colton; "The Lesson of the Hour," poetry, by Edward S. Rand, Jr.; "Among the Pines," by the author of "The Cotton States"; "Active Service, or Campaigning in Western Virginia"; "A Cabinet Session"; "Literary Notices"; "Editor's Table."

This magazine wages war against slavery, not as a sin against God and a crime against the negro, but as a gigantic blunder in political economy, and a nuisance to the white man. It urges the government, upon economical and political grounds, to abolish slavery by an exercise of the powers of war; and its arguments in support of this policy are as convincing as any arguments based solely on such grounds can be. Boston: J. R. Gilmore. New York: H. Dexter & Co. and Ross & Tousey.

IN MEMORIAM. Testimonials to the Life and Character of the late FRANCIS JACKSON. Pp. 36. Boston: R. F. Wallcut. New York: Sold at the Anti-Slavery Office. Price 5 cents.

In this tract are embraced the addresses of Messrs. Garrison, Phillips and May at the funeral of Mr. Jackson; tributes to his memory by Mrs. Child and Rev. W. R. Alger; the Resolutions adopted upon his decease by the Executive Committees of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies; notices of the event from several newspapers; Mr. Jackson's letter to the Governor of Massachusetts, resigning his commission as Justice of the Peace, on account of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and a synopsis of his last will.

THE PULPIT AND ROSTRUM, No. 28, contains the admirable speech of Hon. Martin F. Conway, of Kansas, delivered in the U. S. House of Representatives, Dec. 12, 1861, and entitled "The War: a Slave Union or a Free?" We commend this serial to our readers as worthy of patronage. Its object is to preserve in convenient form the best thoughts of our most gifted men, just as they come from their lips; thus retaining their freshness and personality. It will deal impartially with speakers of various classes, giving a hearing alike to conservatives and radicals. It has given sufficient evidence of good faith in its professions, so far as the radicals are concerned, by publishing the speeches of Phillips, Garrison and Conway. New York: E. D. Barker, 135 Grand street. Terms, 10 cents a number, $1 a year (for 12 numbers).

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for January (Leonard, Scott & Co.'s American edition) contains ten papers, of which the following are the titles: Law in and for India; The Dramatic Poetry of Oehlenschläger; The Religious Heresies of the Working Classes; Income-Tax and Reform; Admiral Sir Charles Napier; On Translating Homer; Popular Education in Russia; The American Belligerents—Rights of Neutrals; The Late Prince Consort; Contemporary Literature. The article on America is a strange mixture of truth and error, and evidently the offspring of intense prejudice against Republican institutions. Such articles only tend to mislead the British people and to excite the honest indignation of Americans.

Extract from a Business Letter, dated

WASHINGTON, Monday, Feb. 24, 1862.

JUDGE CULVER'S lecture was one of the best and most acceptable of the course. The first half of it was especially appropriate, and much needed just now—showing what wickedness the rebellion is.

Mr. Channing's pulpit continues to be the one only free platform of Christ's Gospel in this city. Is it not strange that anti-slavery men of what are called the orthodox persuasions—Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, etc.—will not, in this extraordinary crisis, so far sink their theological prejudices as to help sustain *one* preacher of Freedom at this important point? At least until one of their own faith shall dare to be free! I believe my antipathies to the orthodox dogmas are as strong as theirs can be to a "Liberal" theology, yet I am sure that if I were in a city with twenty pro-slavery Unitarian churches, and one "orthodox," even of the strictest hue of Calvinism, but true to freedom, in this critical hour, I would cheerfully support the latter. But let every man stand or fall to his own conscience.

Chronicles of the War.

Reported Evacuation of Nashville.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Feb. 25.

Gen. McClellan received a dispatch an hour since, from the West, confirming the report that Nashville, Tenn., is taken by Gen, Buell's army, and stating that the rebels have fallen back on Murfreesboro, about thirty miles south of Nashville.

ST. LOUIS, Tuesday, Feb. 25.

The Republican's Cairo dispatch says, the occupation of Nashville is confirmed. Our troops took possession without opposition. Floyd fled as usual.

The report that Gov. Harris had ordered all the Tennessee troops to lay down their arms and go home is confirmed.

The Tennessee Legislature is called for next Monday. No opposition to Union movements is made anywhere on the Cumberland.

It is reported that white flags are flying at Memphis.

CAIRO, Tuesday, Feb. 25.

The following is a special to the Chicago *Tribune:*

Nashville was yesterday occupied by ten thousand troops, under Gen. Buell. The National flag is now flying over the State House.

The Tennessee Legislature adjourned Saturday week, to meet again at Memphis,

It is reported that Commissioners have been appointed to confer with the National authorities at Washington, to arrange terms for the transfer of allegiance, and that Gov. Harris offered to turn the rebel forces over to the Union.

A gentleman who escaped from Columbus, arriving here last night, represents a general Union sentiment in Tennessee, and thinks the Legislature will acquiesce in the recommendation of Gov. Harris, because fearful of a rising Union sentiment. When he left Columbus there were 30,000 rebel troops there.

Another gentleman who arrived from Nashville, reports that the rebels will make another stand at Murfreesboro. All the rebel troops had left Nashville except a police force. When Gov. Harris fled with the Legislature to Memphis, he burnt the State Library, and distributed a large amount of commissary stores and provisions among the citizens. Stores were closed, and business entirely suspended. The secessionists were leaving with their stock, and the negroes following the Confederate army.

The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

NEWPORT NEWS, Va., Feb. 9, 1862.

I told you that I would write you on the contraband subject. These poor refugees are at present "into the frying-pan out of the fire" only. They work hard and get no pay. They came to us to be freemen, and we hold them slaves—slaves of the United States!

The General in command of the department sent down to collect the money these poor fellows had earned here, and Gen. Mansfield, U. S. A., resisted, on the ground that they were neither slaves nor contraband of war.

A commission was therefore appointed to inquire into the matter, and he wrote them his views in a letter, a copy of which I inclose. It disposes of the whole matter most ably and conclusively. It was a bomb-shell thrown into highly conservative Fortress Monroe—a bomb-shell from a battery served by a brigadier-general of the regular army.

CAMP BUTLER, NEWPORT NEWS, Va., Feb. 8, 1862.

To the Commission, Col. CRAM, Lieut.-Col. CANNON, *and* Major JONES, *appointed per General Orders No. 5, from Headquarters Department of Virginia, to inquire into the condition of certain contrabands.*

GENTLEMEN: By invitation of a member of the Commission, I take the liberty to express to the Commission my views on the subject of the contraband negroes, so called. These can be divided into four classes:

1st. Those abandoned by their rebel owners, and compelled to ask for work and support.

2d. Those who have run away from their owners, the rebels, to obtain their freedom from control.

3d. Those who have been put at work by their rebel owners on the fortifications, etc., to resist the government, and have made their escape.

4th. Free negroes who seek work for a support.

The question now arises as to these negroes: Is the United States bound to hold them as slaves, and deprive them of their right to go where they please? It is clear they are not prisoners of war, for they have never been found in arms, and have made their escape to avoid taking part against the United States, or have been abandoned to the United States, as the rebels have abandoned lands, houses, cattle, etc., and are human beings cast on the world with nothing but their hands to obtain a livelihood. Some of them having worked on rebel fortifications, etc., are released (under the 4th Section of the act of Congress of the 6th August, 1861, to confiscate property) from further service to their masters—and in such cases what is their position? Why, simply that of any person in the country released by law from the payment of an obligation—a free person.

All these negroes, with the exception of the fourth class, are, or have been, claimed as property by the very rebels who have taken up arms against the United States, and are lawful plunder, *if property.* But they are not property, but persons held to labor under the Constitution in certain States, and nowhere else; and are not bound or held to labor for the United States, consequently they are not slaves to the United States. It is clear the condition of slaves with them was coexistent with the obligations of the Confederate slave States to the Constitution and laws of the United States, against which they are in open armed rebellion.

Now, what are these negroes? Are they not freemen by this state of rebellion? By the act of secession, the Confederate States have voluntarily broken the Constitution and laws of the Union, and have taken up arms against that Constitution and those laws, and the United States are thereby absolved from the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law, even if so absurd a claim were put forth. If this statement be true, they are entitled as laborers to all the wages they can earn, and to go where they please, and I would recommend that all their earnings be paid to them while in the United States employ, and that all officers and others who employ them in this department be required to pay them a just compensation, and that they be allowed to improve their condition if opportunity should admit.

You are at liberty to use this letter as you please.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
MANSFIELD, Brig.-Gen. U. S. A.

Inauguration of Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis was inaugurated as President of the Southern Confederacy, at Richmond, on Saturday last, the anniversary of Washington's birthday. The inaugural address, indicating as it does the temper of the rebels in view of their recent defeats, will be interesting to all our readers:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: On this the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American Independence, and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues and those of his compatriots, we have assembled to usher into existence the permanent government of the Confederate States. Through this instrumentality, under the favor of Divine Providence, we hope to perpetuate the principles of our Revolutionary fathers. The day, the memory and the purpose seem fitly associated.

It is with mingled feelings of humility and pride that I appear to take, in the presence of the people and before high Heaven, the oath prescribed as a qualification for the exalted station to which the unanimous voice of the people has called me. Deeply sensible of all that is implied by this manifestation of the people's confidence, I am yet more profoundly impressed by the vast responsibility of the office, and humbly feel my own unworthiness.

In return for their kindness I can only offer assurances of the gratitude with which it is received, and can but pledge a zealous devotion of every faculty to the service of those who have chosen me as their Chief Magistrate.

When a long course of class legislation, directed not to the general welfare, but to the aggrandizement of the Northern section of the Union, culminated in a warfare on the domestic institutions of the Southern States—when the dogmas of a sectional party, substituted for the provisions of the constitutional compact, threatened to destroy the sovereign rights of the States, six of those States, withdrawing from the Union, confederated together to exercise the right and perform the duty of instituting a government which would better secure the liberties for the preservation of which that Union was established.

Whatever of hope some may have entertained that a returning sense of justice would remove the danger with which our rights were threatened, and render it possible to preserve the Union or the Constitution, must have been dispelled by the malignity and barbarity of the Northern States in the prosecution of the existing war. The confidence of the most hopeful among us must have been destroyed by the disregard they have recently exhibited for all the time honored bulwarks of civil and religious liberty. Bastiles filled with prisoners, arrested without civil process or indictment duly found; the writ of *habeas corpus* suspended by Executive mandate; a State Legislature controlled by the imprisonment of members whose avowed principles suggested to the Federal Executive that there might be another added to the list of seceded States; elections held under threats of a military power; civil officers, peaceful citizens and gentle women incarcerated for opinion's sake, proclaimed the incapacity of our late associates to administer a government as free, liberal and humane as that established for our common use.

For proof of the sincerity of our purpose to maintain our ancient institutions, we may point to the Constitution of the Confederacy and the laws enacted under it, as well as to the fact that through all the necessities of an unequal struggle there has been no act on our part to impair personal liberty or the freedom of speech, of thought or of the press. The courts have been open, the judicial functions fully executed, and every right of the peaceful citizen maintained as securely as if a war of invasion had not disturbed the land.

The people of the States now confederated became convinced that the government of the United States had fallen into the hands of a sectional majority, who would pervert that most sacred of all trusts to the destruction of the rights which it was pledged to protect. They believed that to remain longer in the Union would subject them to a continuance of a disparaging discrimination, submission to which would be inconsistent with their welfare, and intolerable to a proud people. They, therefore, determined to sever its bonds and establish a new confederacy for themselves.

The experiment instituted by our Revolutionary fathers, of a voluntary Union of sovereign States for purposes specified in a solemn compact, had been perverted by those who, feeling power and forgetting right, were determined to respect no law but their own will. The government had ceased to answer the ends for which it was ordained and established. To save ourselves from a revolution which, in its silent but rapid progress, was about to place us under the despotism of numbers, and to preserve in spirit, as well as in form, a system of government we believed to be peculiarly fitted to our condition, and full of promise for mankind, we determined to make a new association, composed of States homogeneous in interest, in policy and in feeling.

True to our traditions of peace and our love of justice, we sent commissioners to the United States to propose a fair and amicable settlement of all questions of public debt or property which might be in dispute. But the government at Washington, denying our right to self-government, refused even to listen to any proposals for a peaceful separation. Nothing was then left to us but to prepare for war.

The first year in our history has been the most eventful in the annals of this continent. A new government has been established, and its machinery put in operation over an area exceeding seven hundred thousand square miles. The great principles upon which we have been willing to hazard everything that is dear to man have made conquests for us which could never have been achieved by the sword. Our Confederacy has grown from six to thirteen States; *and Maryland, already united to us by hallowed memories and material interests, will, I believe, when able to speak with unstifled voice, connect her destiny with the South.* Our people have rallied with unexampled unanimity to the support of the great principles of constitutional government, with firm resolve to perpetuate by arms the rights which they could not peacefully secure. A million of men, it is estimated, are now standing in hostile array, and waging war along a frontier of thousands of miles. Battles have been fought, sieges have been conducted, *and, although the contest is not ended, and the tide for the moment is against us, the final result in our favor is not doubtful.*

The period is near at hand *when our foes must sink under the immense load of debt which they have incurred,* a debt which in their effort to subjugate us has already attained such fearful dimensions as will subject them to burthens which must continue to oppress them for generations to come.

We, too, have had our trials and difficulties. That we are to escape them in future is not to be hoped. It was to be expected when we entered upon this war that it would expose our people to sacrifices and cost them much, both of money and blood. But we knew the value of the object for which we struggled, and understood the nature of the war in which we were engaged. Nothing could be so bad as failure, and any sacrifice would be cheap as the price of success in such a contest.

But the picture has its lights as well as its shadows. This great strife has awakened in the people the highest emotions and qualities of the human soul. It is cultivating feelings of patriotism, virtue and courage. Instances of self-sacrifice and of generous devotion to the noble cause for which we are contending are rife throughout the land. Never has a people evinced a more determined spirit than that now animating men, women and children in every part of our country. Upon the first call the men fly to arms; and wives and mothers send their husbands and sons to battle without a murmur of regret.

It was, perhaps, in the ordination of Providence that we were to be taught the value of our liberties by the price which we pay for them.

The recollections of this great contest, with all its common traditions of glory, of sacrifice and of blood, will be the bond of harmony and enduring affection amongst the people, producing unity in policy, fraternity in sentiment and joint effort in war.

Nor have the material sacrifices of the past year been made without some corresponding benefits. *If the acquiescence of foreign nations in a pretended blockade has deprived us of our commerce with them, it is fast making us a self-supporting and an independent people.* The blockade, if effectual and permanent, could only serve to divert our industry from the production of articles of export, and employ it in supplying commodities for domestic use.

It is a satisfaction that we have maintained the war by our unaided exertions. We have neither asked nor received assistance from any quarter. Yet the interest involved is not wholly our own. The world at large is concerned in opening our markets to its commerce. When the independence of the Confederate States is recognized by the nations of the earth, and we are free to follow our interests and inclinations by cultivating foreign trade; the Southern States will offer to manufacturing nations the most favorable markets which ever invited their commerce. Cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, provisions, timber and naval stores will furnish attractive exchanges. Nor would the constancy of these supplies be likely to be disturbed by war. Our Confederate strength will be too great to tempt aggression; and never was there a people whose interests and principles committed them so fully to a peaceful policy as those of the Confederate States. By the character of their productions they are too deeply interested in foreign commerce wantonly to disturb it. War of conquest they cannot wage, because the Constitution of their Confederacy admits of no coerced association. Civil war there cannot be between States held together by their volition only. This rule of voluntary association, which cannot fail to be conservative, by securing just and impartial government at home, does not diminish the security of the obligations by which the Confederate States may be bound to foreign nations. *In proof of this it is to be remembered that, at the first moment of asserting their right of secession, these States proposed a settlement on the basis of a common liability for the obligations of the general government.*

Fellow-citizens, after the struggles of ages had consecrated the right of the Englishman to constitutional representative government, our colonial ancestors were forced to vindicate that birthright by an appeal to arms. Success crowned their efforts, and they provided for their posterity a peaceful remedy against future aggression.

The tyranny of an unbridled majority, the most odious and least responsible form of despotism, has denied us both the right and the remedy. Therefore we are in arms to renew such sacrifices as our fathers made to the holy cause of constitutional liberty. At the darkest hour of our struggle the provisional gives place to the permanent government. *After a series of successes and victories, which covered our arms with glory, we have recently met with serious disasters.* But in the heart of a people resolved to be free these disasters tend but to stimulate to increased resistance.

To show ourselves worthy of the inheritance bequeathed to us by the patriots of the Revolution, we must emulate that heroic devotion which made reverse to them but the crucible in which their patriotism was refined.

With confidence in the wisdom and virtue of those who will share with me the responsibility, and aid me in the conduct of public affairs; securely relying on the patriotism and courage of the people, of which the present war has furnished so many examples, I deeply feel the weight of the responsibilities I now, with unaffected diffidence, am about to assume; and, fully realizing the inadequacy of human power to guide and to sustain, my hope is reverently fixed on Him whose favor is ever vouchsafed to the cause which is just. With humble gratitude and adoration, acknowledging the Providence which has so visibly protected the Confederacy during its brief but eventful career, to Thee, Oh God, I trustingly commit myself, and prayerfully invoke Thy blessing on my country and its cause.

Price again Defeated.

ST. LOUIS, Tuesday, Feb. 25, 1862.

Gen. Halleck, this morning, telegra

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE WAITER.

As dreamily I mused with closed eyes,
The sad eventful workings of the hour
Took form, and phantom shapes and sounds did rise,
As if controlled by some unearthly power,
Some fiend or fate, that ruled our destinies.

The heavens were veiled by trembling tongues of light,
As when the Aurora Borealis streams;
A waning moon lent mystery to the night;
The stars gave out but pallid, flickering gleams
Upon a lonesome coast of hopeless blight.

A sluggish sea pulsed feebly to the land,
Its mournful waters gurgling round the wrecks
Which lined the hidden reefs or lonely sand,
While many a form that proudly trod their decks
Rolled in the flood or strewed the sterile strand.

No sounds save those of that slow-heaving sea
Were borne upon the hot and stagnant air,
No signs of life about me could I see,
No leafy tree, no spot of verdure there;
All told of gloom and dire calamity.

Not far remote from where, amazed, I stood,
A something having motion caught my eye,
And then a low and long-drawn sound I heard,
Alike to moaning wind or smothered sigh,
Which was repeated, then a third ensued.

And all the while the object seen drew near,
With sinuous motion, stealthily and slow,
And then a hiss smote startling on mine ear,
My eyes were dazzled by a sudden glow,
And lo! a ghastly, human form was there.

"What wouldst thou here?" defiantly I cried,
"Thou fiend of whom tradition's page is full!"
"My votaries now war for me," he said,
"In desperate conflict to sustain my rule:
So here I wait till good or ill betide.

"Long have I sought, by every mean and wile
That my prolific cunning brain devised,
Truth to entangle in my crushing coil,
To scourge and crucify each child she raised—
The ever-canting, stubborn soul beguile.

"Against the armies of vain-glorious Truth
My legions now in deadly conflict join,
And my adherents at the South and North
My power are subtilely striving to maintain,
And from the land drive Truth and Freedom forth."

"Thy hope is vain, thou spectre of the False!
Behold thy fleets, which line this dismal shore,
The pirates there that raised thy standard once,
And there the slave-ships that thy banner bore,
From them no hope; on what bulld'st thou thy chance?"

"See'st thou yon veil, which spreads its gloom afar,
Whose thick'ning masses slowly wreathe and rise,
Eclipsing in the West star after star,
And soon, I hope, to hide bright Hesper's rays?
There is my hope, for there my armies war!"

Scarce had he ceased, when from the murky cloud
Flash after flash along the horizon ran,
And peal on peal reverberated loud,
Which seemed to mock the demon's spiteful ban,
And bid defiance to his boastings proud:

And then a crash came clanking to my ear,
As if a myriad fetters had been broke,
And shouts triumphant echoed far and near,
As though with one acclaim a nation spoke,
To all proclaiming FREEDOM EVERMORE.

The phantom-demon vanished in the air,
And as the dense and threat'ning cloud dispersed,
Again appeared, unveiled, star after star,
The sky spread broad and clear throughout the West,
And Hesper shone still brighter than before.

W. A. W.

JOHN STUART MILL ON THE CONTEST IN AMERICA.

Part of an article in Fraser's Magazine for February.

THE cloud which, for the space of a month, hung gloomily over the civilized world, black with far worse evils than those of simple war, has passed from over our heads without bursting. The fear has not been realized, that the only two first-rate Powers who are also free nations would take to tearing each other in pieces, both the one and the other in a bad and odious cause. For while, on the American side, the war would have been one of reckless persistency in wrong, on ours it would have been a war in alliance with, and, to practical purposes, in defence and propagation of slavery. We had, indeed, been wronged. We had suffered an indignity, and something more than an indignity, which not to have resented, would have been to invite a constant succession of insults and injuries from the same and from every other quarter. We could have acted no otherwise than we have done; yet it is impossible to think, without something like a shudder, from what we have escaped. We, the emancipators of the slave—who have wearied every court and government in Europe and America with our protests and remonstrances, until we goaded them into at least ostensibly cooperating with us to prevent the enslaving of the negro—we, who for the last half century have spent annual sums equal to the revenue of a small kingdom in blockading the African coast, for a cause in which we not only had no interest, but which was contrary to our pecuniary interest, and which many believed would ruin, as many among us still, though erroneously, believe that it has ruined, our colonies—*we* should have lent a hand to setting up, in one of the most commanding positions of the world, a powerful republic, devoted not only to slavery, but to pro-slavery propagandism—should have helped to give a place in the community of nations to a conspiracy of slave-owners, who have broken their connection with the American Federation on the sole ground, ostentatiously proclaimed, that they thought an attempt would be made to restrain, not slavery itself, but their purpose of spreading slavery wherever migration or force could carry it.

A nation which has made the professions that England has does not with impunity, under however great provocation, betake itself to frustrating the objects for which it has been calling on the rest of the world to make sacrifices of what they think their interest. At present, all the nations of Europe have sympathized with us; have acknowledged that we were injured, and declared, with rare unanimity, that we had no choice but to resist, if necessary, by arms. But the consequences of such a war would soon have buried its causes in oblivion. When the new Confederate States, made an independent Power by English help, had begun their crusade to carry negro slavery from the Potomac to Cape Horn, who would then have remembered that England raised up this scourge to humanity, not for the evil's sake, but because somebody had offered an insult to her flag? Or even if unforgotten, who would then have felt that such a grievance was a sufficient palliation of the crime? Every reader of a newspaper, to the furthest ends of the earth, would have believed and remembered one thing only—that at the critical juncture which was to decide whether slavery should blaze up afresh with increased vigor or be trodden out—at the moment of conflict between the good and the evil spirit—at the dawn of a hope that the demon might now at last be chained and flung into the pit, England stepped in, and, for the sake of cotton, made Satan victorious.

The world has been saved from this calamity, and England from this disgrace. The accusation would indeed have been a calumny. But to be able to defy calumny, a nation, like an individual, must stand very clear of just reproach in its previous conduct. Unfortunately, we ourselves have given too much plausibility to the charge. Not by anything said or done by us as a government or as a nation, but by the tone of our press, and in some degree, it must be owned, the general opinion of English society. It is too true, that the feelings which have been manifested since the beginning of the American contest—the judgments which have been put forth, and the wishes which have been expressed concerning the incidents and probable eventualities of the struggle—the bitter and irritating criticism which has been kept up, not even against both parties equally, but almost solely against the party in the right, and the ungenerous refusal of all those just allowances which no country needs more than our own, whenever its circumstances are as near to those of America as a cut finger is to an almost mortal wound—these facts, with minds not favorably disposed to us, would have gone far to make the most odious interpretation of the war in which we have been so nearly engaged with the United States, appear by many degrees the most probable. There is no denying that our attitude toward the contending parties (I mean our moral attitude, for politically there was no other course open to us than neutrality) has not been that which becomes a people who are as sincere enemies of slavery as the English really are, and have made as great sacrifices to put an end to it where they could. And it has been an additional misfortune that some of our most powerful journals have been, for many years past, very unfavorable exponents of English feeling on all subjects connected with slavery; some, probably, from the influences, more or less direct, of West Indian opinions and interests; others from inbred Toryism, which, even when compelled by reason to hold opinions favorable to liberty, is always adverse to it in feeling; which likes the spectacle of irresponsible power exercised by one person over others; which has no moral repugnance to the thought of human beings born to the penal servitude for life, to which for the term of a few years we sentence our most hardened criminals, but keeps its indignation to be expended on "rabid and fanatical Abolitionists" across the Atlantic, and on those writers in England who attach a sufficiently serious meaning to their Christian professions to consider a fight against slavery as a fight for God.

There is a theory in England, believed perhaps by some, half believed by many more, which is only consistent with original ignorance, or complete subsequent forgetfulness, of all the antecedents of the contest. There are people who tell us that, on the side of the North the question is not one of slavery at all. The North, it seems, have no more objection to slavery than the South have. Their leaders never say one word implying disapprobation of it. They are ready, on the contrary, to give it new guarantees; to renounce all that they have been contending for; to win back, if opportunity offers, the South to the Union by surrendering the whole point.

If this be the true state of the case, what are the Southern chiefs fighting about? Their apologists in England say that it is about tariffs, and similar trumpery. *They* say nothing of the kind. They tell the world, and they told their own citizens when they wanted their votes, that the object of the fight was slavery. Many years ago, when Gen. Jackson was President, South Carolina did nearly rebel (she never was near separating) about a tariff; but no other State abetted her, and a strong adverse demonstration from Virginia brought the matter to a close. Yet the tariff of that day was rigidly protective. Compared with that, the one in force at the time of the secession was a free trade tariff. This latter was the result of several successive modifications in the direction of freedom; and its principle was not protection for protection, but as much of it only as might incidentally result from duties imposed for revenue. Even the Morrill tariff (which never could have been passed but for the Southern secession) is stated by the high authority of Mr. H. C. Carey to be considerably more liberal than the reformed French tariff under Mr. Cobden's treaty; insomuch that he, a Protectionist, would be glad to exchange his own protective tariff for Louis Napoleon's free trade one. But why discuss on probable evidence notorious facts? The world knows what the question between the North and South has been for many years, and still is. Slavery alone was thought of, alone talked of. Slavery was battled for and against, on the floor of Congress and in the plains of Kansas; on the slavery question exclusively was the party constituted which now rules the United States; on slavery Fremont was rejected; on slavery Lincoln was elected; the South separated on slavery, and proclaimed slavery as the one cause of separation.

It is true enough that the North are not carrying on war to abolish slavery where it legally exists. Could it have been expected, or even perhaps desired, that they should? A great party does not change suddenly, and at once, all its principles and professions. The Republican party have taken their stand on law, and the existing Constitution of the Union. They have disclaimed all right to attempt anything which that Constitution forbids. It does forbid interference by the Federal Congress with slavery in the slave States; but it does not forbid their abolishing it in the District of Columbia; and this they are now doing, having voted, I perceive, in their present pecuniary straits, a million of dollars to idemnify the slave-owners of the District. Neither did the Constitution, in their own opinion, require them to permit the introduction of slavery into the Territories, which were not yet States. To prevent this, the Republican party was formed, and to prevent it they are now fighting, as the slave-owners are fighting to enforce it.

The present government of the United States is not an Abolitionist government. Abolitionists, in America, mean those who do not keep within the Constitution; who demand the destruction (as far as slavery is concerned) of as much of it as protects the internal legislation of each State from the control of Congress; who aim at abolishing slavery wherever it exists, by force if need be, but certainly by some other power than the constituted authorities of the slave States. The Republican party neither aim nor profess to aim at this object. And when we consider the flood of wrath which would have been poured out against them if they did, by the very writers who now taunt them with not doing it, we shall be apt to think the taunt a little misplaced. But though not an Abolitionist party, they are a Free Soil party. If they have not taken arms against slavery, they have against its extension. And they know, as we may know if we please, that this amounts to the same thing. The day when slavery can no longer extend itself, is the day of its doom. The slave-owners know this, and it is the cause of their fury.

The Republican leaders do not talk to the public of these almost certain results of success in the present conflict. They talk but little in the existing emergency, even of the original cause of quarrel. The most ordinary policy teaches them to inscribe on their banner that part only of their known principles in which their supporters are unanimous. The preservation of the Union is an object about which the North are agreed; and it has many adherents, as they believe, in the South, generally. That nearly half the population of the border slave States are in favor of it is a patent fact, since they are now fighting in its defence. It is not probable that they would be willing to fight directly against slavery. The Republicans well know that if they can reëstablish the Union they gain everything for which they originally contended; and it would be a plain breach of faith with the Southern friends of the government, if, after rallying them around its standard for a purpose of which they approve, it were suddenly to alter its terms of communion without their consent.

But the parties in a protracted civil war almost always end by taking more extreme, not to say higher grounds of principle than they began with. Middle parties and friends of compromise are soon left behind; and if the writers who so severely criticise the present moderation of the Free-soilers are desirous to see the war become an abolition war, it is probable that if the war lasts long enough they will be gratified. Without the smallest pretension to see further into futurity than other people, I at least have foreseen and foretold from the first that if the South were not promptly put down the contest would become distinctly an anti-slavery one; nor do I believe that any person accustomed to reflect on the course of human affairs in troubled times can expect anything else. Those who have read, even cursorily, the most valuable testimony to which the English public have access, concerning the real state of affairs in America—the letters of *The Times* correspondent, Mr. Russell—must have observed how early and rapidly he arrived at the same conclusion, and with what increasing emphasis he now continually reiterates it. In one of his recent letters he names the end of next summer as the period by which, if the war has not sooner terminated, it will have assumed a complete anti-slavery character. So early a term exceeds, I confess, my most sanguine hopes; but if Mr. Russell be right, heaven forbid that the war should cease sooner, for if it lasts till then it is quite possible that it will regenerate the American people.

If, however, the purposes of the North may be doubted or misunderstood, there is at least no question as to those of the South. They make no concealment of *their* principles. As long as they were allowed to direct all the policy of the Union; to break through compromise after compromise, encroach step after step, until they reached the pitch of claiming a right to carry slave property into the free States, and, in opposition to the laws of those States, hold it as property there; so long, they were willing to remain in the Union. The moment a President was elected of whom it was inferred from his opinions, not that he would take any measures against slavery where it exists, but that he would oppose its establishment where it exists not—that moment they broke loose from what was, at least, a very solemn contract, and formed themselves into a Confederation professing as its fundamental principle not merely the perpetuation, but the indefinite extension of slavery. And the doctrine is loudly preached through the new republic, that slavery, whether black or white, is a good in itself, and the proper condition of the working classes everywhere.

But we are told, by a strange misapplication of a true principle, that the South had a *right* to separate; that their separation ought to have been consented to, the moment they showed themselves ready to fight for it; and that the North, in resisting it, are committing the same error and wrong which England committed in opposing the original separation of the thirteen colonies. This is carrying the doctrine of the sacred right of insurrection rather far. It is wonderful how easy and liberal and complying people can be in other people's concerns. Because they are willing to surrender their own past, and have no objection to join in reprobation of their great grandfathers, they never put themselves the question what they themselves would do in circumstances far less trying, under far less pressure of real national calamity. Would those who profess these ardent revolutionary principles consent to their being applied to Ireland, or India, or the Ionian Islands? How have they treated those who did attempt so to apply them? But the case can dispense with any mere *argumentum ad hominem*. I am not frightened at the word rebellion. I do not scruple to say that I have sympathized more or less ardently with most of the rebellions, successful and unsuccessful, which have taken place in my time. But I certainly never conceived that there was a sufficient title to my sympathy in the mere fact of being a rebel; that the act of taking arms against one's fellow-citizens was so meritorious in itself, was so completely its own justification, that no question need be asked concerning the motive. It seems to me a strange doctrine that the most serious and responsible of all human acts imposes no obligation on those who do it of showing that they have a real grievance; that those who rebel for the power of oppressing others, exercise as sacred a right as those who do the same thing to resist oppression practiced upon themselves. Neither rebellion, nor any other act which affects the interests of others, is sufficiently legitimated by the mere will to do it. Secession may be laudable, and so may any other kind of insurrection; but it may also be an enormous crime. It is the one or the other, according to the object and the provocation. And if there ever was an object which, by its bare announcement, stamped rebels against a particular community as enemies of mankind, it is the one professed by the South. Their right to separate is the right which Cartouche or Turpin would have had to secede from their respective countries, because the laws of those countries would not suffer them to rob and murder on the highway. The only real difference is that the present rebels are more powerful than Cartouche or Turpin, and may possibly be able to effect their iniquitous purpose.

Suppose, however, for the sake of argument, that the mere will to separate were in this case, or in any case, a sufficient ground for separation, I beg to be informed *whose* will? The will of any knot of men who, by fair means or foul, by usurpation, terrorism, or fraud, have got the reins of government into their hands? If the inmates of Parkhurst Prison were to get possession of the Isle of Wight, occupy its military positions, enlist one part of its inhabitants in their own ranks, set the remainder of them to work in chain gangs, and declare themselves independent, ought their recognition by the British government to be an immediate consequence? Before admitting the authority of any persons, as organs of the will of the people, to dispose of the whole political existence of a country, I ask to see whether their credentials are from the whole, or only from a part. And first, it is necessary to ask, Have the slaves been consulted? Has *their* will been counted as any part in the estimate of collective volition? They are a part of the population.

However natural in the country itself, it is rather cool in English writers who talk so glibly of the ten million (I believe there are only eight), to pass over the very existence of four million who must abhor the idea of separation. Remember, *we* consider them to be human beings, entitled to human rights. Nor can it be doubted that the mere fact of belonging to a Union in some parts of which slavery is reprobated, is some alleviation of their condition, if only as regards future probabilities. But even of the white population, it is questionable if there was in the beginning a majority for secession anywhere but in South Carolina. Though the thing was predetermined, and most of the States committed by their public authorities before the people were called on to vote; though in taking the votes terrorism in many places reigned triumphant; yet even so, in several of the States, secession was carried only by narrow majorities. In some the authorities have not dared to publish the numbers; in some it is asserted that no vote has ever been taken. Further (as was pointed out in an admirable letter by Mr. Cary), the slave States are intersected in the middle, from their northern frontier almost to the Gulf of Mexico, by a country of free labor—the mountain region of the Alleghanies and their dependencies, forming parts of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama, in which, from the nature of the climate and of the agricultural and mining industry, slavery to any material extent never did, and never will, exist. This mountain zone is peopled by ardent friends of the Union. Could the Union abandon them, without even an effort, to be dealt with at the pleasure of an exasperated slave-owning oligarchy? Could it abandon the Germans who, in Western Texas, have made so meritorious a commencement of growing cotton on the borders of the Mexican Gulf by free labor? Were the right of the slave-owners to secede ever so clear, they have no right to carry these with them; unless allegiance is a mere question of local proximity, and my next neighbor, if I am a stronger man, can be compelled to follow me in any lawless vagaries I choose to indulge.

But (it is said) the North will never succeed in conquering the South; and since the separation must in the end be recognized, it is better to do at first what must be done at last; moreover, if it did conquer them, it could not govern them when conquered, consistently with free institutions. With no one of these propositions can I agree.

Whether or not the Northern Americans *will* succeed in reconquering the South, I do not affect to foresee. That they *can* conquer it, if their present determination holds, I have never entertained a doubt; for they are twice as numerous, and ten or twelve times as rich. Not by taking military possession of their country, or marching an army through it, but by wearing them out, exhausting their resources, depriving them of the comforts of life, encouraging their slaves to desert, and excluding them from communication with foreign countries. All this, of course, depends on the supposition that the North does not give in first. Whether they will persevere to this point, or whether their spirit, their patience, and the sacrifices they are willing to make, will be exhausted before reaching it, I cannot tell. They may, in the end, be wearied into recognizing the separation. But to those who say that because this may have to be done at last, it ought to have been done at first, I put the very serious question—On what terms? Have they ever considered what would have been the meaning of separation if it had been assented to by the Northern States when first demanded? People talk as if separation meant nothing more than the independence of the seceding States. To have accepted it under that limitation would have been, on the part of the South, to give up that which they have seceded expressly to preserve. Separation with them, means at least half the Territories; including the Mexican border, and the consequent power of invading and overrunning Spanish America for the purpose of planting there the "peculiar institution" which even Mexican civilization has found too bad to be endured. There is no knowing to what point of degradation a country may be driven in a desperate state of its affairs; but if the North *ever*, unless on the brink of actual ruin, makes peace with the South, giving up the original cause of quarrel, the freedom of the Territories; if it resigns to them when out of the Union that power of evil which it would not grant to retain them in the Union—it will incur the pity and disdain of posterity. And no one can suppose that the South would have consented, or in their present temper ever will consent, to an accommodation on any other terms. It will require a succession of humiliations to bring them to that. The necessity of reconciling themselves to the confinement of slavery within its existing boundaries, with the natural consequence, immediate mitigation of slavery, and ultimate emancipation, is a lesson which they are in no mood to learn from anything but disaster. Two or three defeats in the field, breaking their military strength, though not followed by an invasion of their territory, may possibly teach it to them. If so, there is no breach of charity in hoping that this severe schooling may promptly come. When men set themselves up, in defiance of the rest of the world, to do the devil's work, no good can come of them until the world has made them feel that this work cannot be suffered to be done any longer. If this knowledge does not come to them for several years, the abolition question will by that time have settled itself. For assuredly Congress will very soon make up its mind to declare all slaves free who belong to persons in arms against the Union. When that is done, slavery, confined to a minority, will soon cure itself; and the pecuniary value of the negroes belonging to loyal masters will probably not exceed the amount of compensation which the United States will be willing and able to give.

The assumed difficulty of governing the Southern States as free and equal commonwealths, in case of their return to the Union, is purely imaginary. If brought back by force, and not by voluntary compact, they will return without the Territories, and without a Fugitive Slave law. It may be assumed that in that event the victorious party would make the alterations in the Federal Constitution which are necessary to adapt it to the new circumstances, and which would not infringe, but strengthen, its democratic principles. An article would have to be inserted prohibiting the extension of slavery to the Territories, or the admission into the Union of any new slave State. Without any other guarantee, the rapid formation of new free States would ensure to Freedom a decisive and constantly increasing majority in Congress. It would also be right to abrogate that bad provision of the Constitution (a necessary compromise at the time of its first establishment) whereby the slaves though reckoned as citizens in no other respect, are counted, to the extent of three-fifths of their number, in the estimate of their population for fixing the number of Representatives of each State in the Lower House of Congress. Why should the masters have members in right of their human chattels, any more than of their oxen and pigs? The President, in his Message, has already proposed that this salutary reform should be effected in the case of Maryland, additional territory, detached from Virginia, being given to that State as an equivalent: thus clearly indicating the policy which he approves, and which he is probably willing to make universal.

As it is necessary to be prepared for all possibilities, let us now contemplate another. Let us suppose the worst possible issue of this war—the one apparently desired by those English writers whose moral feeling is so philosophically indifferent between the apostles of slavery and its enemies. Suppose that the North should stoop to recognize the new Confederation on its own terms, leaving it half the Territories, and that it is acknowledged by Europe, and takes its place as an admitted member of the community of nations. It will be desirable to take thought beforehand what are to be our own future relations with a new Power, professing the principles of Attila and Genghis Khan as the foundation of its Constitution. Are we to see with indifference its victorious army let loose to propagate their national faith at the rifle's mouth through Mexico and Central America? Shall we submit to see fire and sword carried over Cuba and Porto Rico, and Hayti and Liberia conquered and brought back to slavery? We shall soon have causes enough of quarrel on our own account. When we are in the act of sending an expedition against Mexico to redress the wrongs of private British subjects, we should do well to reflect in time that the President of the new Republic, Mr. Jefferson Davis, was the original inventor of repudiation. Mississippi was the first State which repudiated, Mr. Jefferson Davis was Governor of Mississippi, and the Legislature of Mississippi had passed a bill recognizing and providing for the debt, which bill Mr. Jefferson Davis vetoed. Unless we abandon the principles we have for two generations consistently professed and acted on, we should be at war with the new Confederacy within five years about the African slave trade. An English government will hardly be base enough to recognize them, unless they accept all the treaties by which America is at present bound; nor, it may be hoped, even if *de facto* independent, would they be admitted to the courtesies of diplomatic intercourse, unless they granted in the most explicit manner the right of search. To allow the slave ships of a Confederation formed for the extension of slavery to come and go free, and unexamined, between America and the African coast, would be to renounce even the pretence of attempting to protect Africa against the man-stealer, and abandon that continent to the horrors, on a far larger scale, which were practiced before Granville Sharpe and Clarkson were in existence. But even if the right of intercepting their slavers were acknowledged by treaty, which it never would be, the arrogance of the Southern slaveholders would not long submit to its exercise. Their pride and self-conceit, swelled to an inordinate height by their successful struggle, would defy the power of England as they had already successfully defied that of their Northern countrymen. After our people, by their cold disapprobation, and our press by its invective, had combined with their own difficulties to damp the spirit of the free States, and drive them to submit and make peace, we should have to fight the slave States ourselves at far greater disadvantages, when we should no longer have the wearied and exhausted North for an ally. The time might come when the barbarous and barbarizing Power, which we by our moral support had helped into existence, would require a general crusade of civilized Europe, to extinguish the mischief which it had allowed, and we had aided, to rise up in the midst of our civilization.

For these reasons I cannot join with those who cry, peace, peace. I cannot wish that this war should not have been engaged in by the North, or that, being engaged in, it should be terminated on any conditions but such as would retain the whole of the Territories as free soil. I am not blind to the possibility that it may require a long war to lower the arrogance and tame the aggressive ambition of the slave-owners, to the point of either returning to the Union, or consenting to remain out of it with their present limits. But war, in a good cause, is not the greatest evil which a nation can suffer. War is an ugly thing, but not the ugliest of things: the decayed and degraded state of moral and patriotic feeling which thinks nothing *worth* a war, is worse. When a people are used as mere human instruments for firing cannon or thrusting bayonets, in the service and for the selfish purposes of a master, such war degrades a people. A war to protect other human beings against tyrannical injustice; a war to give victory to their own ideas of right and good, and which is their own war, carried on for an honest purpose by their free choice—is often the means of their regeneration. A man who has nothing which he is willing to fight for, nothing which he cares more about than he does about his personal safety, is a miserable creature who has no chance of being free, unless made and kept so by the exertions of better men than himself. As long as justice and injustice have not terminated *their* ever renewing fight for ascendancy in the affairs of mankind, human beings must be willing, when need is, to do battle for the one against the other. I am far from saying that the present struggle, on the part of the Northern Americans, is wholly of this exalted character; that it has arrived at the stage of being altogether a war for justice, a war of principle. But there was from the beginning, and now is, a large infusion of that element in it; and this is increasing, will increase, and if the war lasts, will in the end predominate. Should that time come, not only will the greatest enormity which still exists among mankind as an institution, receive far earlier its *coup de grace* than there has ever, until now, appeared any probability of; but in effecting this the free States will have raised themselves to that elevated position in the scale of morality and dignity, which is derived from great sacrifices consciously made in a virtuous cause, and the sense of inestimable benefit to all future ages, brought about by their own voluntary efforts.

MOUNTAIN PICTURES.

I.

FRANCONIA FROM THE PEMIGEWASSET.

ONCE more, O Mountains of the North, unveil
Your brows, and lay your cloudy mantles by!
And once more, ere the eyes that seek ye fail,
Uplift against the blue walls of the sky
Your mighty shapes, and let the sunshine weave
Its golden net-work in your belting woods,
Smile down in rainbows from your falling floods,
And on your kingly brows at morn and eve
Set crowns of fire! So shall my soul receive
Haply the secret of your calm and strength,
Your unforgotten beauty interfuse
My common life, your glorious shapes and hues
And sun-dropped splendors at my bidding come,
Loom vast through dreams, and stretch in billowy length
From the sea-level of my lowland home!

They rise before me! Last night's thunder-gust
Roared not in vain: for, where its lightnings thrust
Their tongues of fire, the great peaks seem so near,
Burned clean of mist, so starkly bold and clear,
I almost pause the wind in the pines to hear,
The loose rock's fall, the steps of browsing deer.
The clouds that shattered on yon slide-worn walls
And splintered on the rocks their spears of rain
Have set in play a thousand waterfalls,
Making the dusk and silence of the woods
Glad with the laughter of the chasing floods
And luminous with blown spray and silver gleams,
While, in the vales below, the dry-lipped streams
Sing to the freshened meadow-lands again.
So, let me hope, the battle-storm that beats
The land with hail and fire may pass away
With its spent thunders at the break of day,
Like last night's clouds, and leave, as it retreats,
A greener earth and fairer sky behind,
Blown crystal-clear by Freedom's Northern wind!

—*Atlantic Monthly for March.* JOHN G. WHITTIER.

MEMORIAL TO WILBERFORCE.—A very handsome stone seat has been placed in Holwood Park, Keston, by the kind permission of Lord Cranworth, as a memorial to Mr. Wilberforce, the great champion of negro emancipation. The seat is of Forest-of-Dean stone, and was prepared by Mr. Henderson, of Sevenoaks, the cost being defrayed by Earl Stanhope. The object of the memorial will be gathered from the following inscription, which is engraved upon it, and which is taken from Mr. Wilberforce's diary, 1788: "At length, I well remember, after a conversation with Mr. Pitt in the open air, at the root of an old tree at Holwood, just above the steep descent to the Vale of Keston, I resolved to give notice on a fit occasion in the House of Commons of my intention to bring forward the abolition of the slave trade." The seat is placed at the foot of the old oak beneath which the memorable conversation took place, and is intended for public use. A distinguished party, including Lord and Lady Cranworth, Earl and Countess Stanhope, the Hon. G. Stanhope, etc., etc., were present at the completion, and the appropriateness of the memorial was much admired.—*London Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

A GOOD Methodist minister, who lived on a very small salary, was greatly troubled at one time to get his quarterly instalment. He had called a number of times, but had each time been put off with some excuse. At length he went to his steward, and told him he must have his money, for his family were suffering for the necessaries of life. "Money!" replied the steward, "you preach for money! I thought you preached for the good of souls!" "Souls!" replied the minister, "I can't eat souls, and if I could, it would take a thousand such as yours to make a decent meal."

A CHILD.

A CHILD is born; now take the germ and make it
A bud of moral beauty. Let the dews
Of knowledge, and the light of virtue, wake it
In richest fragrance and in purest hues;
For soon the gathering hand of death will break it
From its weak stem of life, and it shall lose
All power to charm; but if that lovely flower
Hath swelled one pleasure, or subdued one pain,
O! who shall say that it has lived in vain? —*Bowring.*

JONES and Brown were talking lately of a young clergyman whose preaching they had heard that day. The sermon was like a certain man mentioned in a certain biography—"very poor and very pious." "What do you think of him?" asked Brown. "I think," said Jones, "he did much better two years ago." "Why, he didn't preach then," said Brown. "True," said Jones, "that is what I mean."

HOW BIRDOFREDOM GOT CONVARTED.

From Lowell's "Biglow Paper" in The Atlantic Monthly for March.

I HED it on my min' las' time, when I to write ye started,
To tech the leadin' featurs o' my gittin' me convarted;
But, ez my letters hez to go clearn roun' by way o' Cuby,
'T wun't seem no staler now than then, by th' time it gits
where you be.
You know up North, though secs an' things air plenty ez
you please,
Ther' warn't nut one on 'em thet come jes' square with my
idees:
I dessay they suit workin'-folks thet ain't noways partic'lar,
But nut your Southun gen'leman thet keeps his perpen-
dic'lar;
I don't blame nary man thet casts his lot along o' *his* folks,
But ef you cal'late to save *me*, 't must be with folks thet *is*
folks;
Cov'nants o' works go 'ginst my grain, but down here I 've
found out
The true fus'-fem'ly A 1 plan,—here 's how it come about.
When I fus' sot up with Miss S., sez she to me, sez she,—
"Without you git religion, Sir, the thing can't never be;
Nut but wut I respeck," sez she, "your intellectle part,
But you wun't noways du for me athout a change o' heart:
Nothun religion works wal North, but it 's ez soft ez spruce,
Compared to ourn, for keepin' sound," sez she, "upon the
goose;
A day 's experunce 'd prove to ye, ez easy 'z pull a trigger,
It takes the Southun pint o' view to raise ten bales a nigger;
You 'll fin' thet human natur, South, ain't wholesome more
'n skin-deep,
An' once 't a darkie 's took with it, he wun't be wuth his
keep."
"How *shell* I git it, Ma'am?" sez I. "Attend the nex'
camp-meetin'," sez she, "an' it 'll come to ye ez cheap ez onbleached
sheetin'."

Wal, so I went along an' hearn most an impressive sarmon
About besprinklin' Afriky with fourth-proof dew o' Har-
mon:
He did n' put no weaknin' in, but gin it tu us hot,
'Z ef he an' Satan 'd ben two bulls in one five-acre lot:
I don't purtend to foller him, but give ye jes' the heads;
For pulpit ellerkence, you know, 'most ollers kin' o' spreads.
Ham's seed wuz gin to us in chairge, an' should n't we be
li'ble
In Kingdom Come, ef we kep' back their priv'lege in the
Bible?
The cusses an' the promerses make one gret chain, an' ef
You snake one link out here, one there, how much on 't ud
be lef'?
All things wuz gin to man for 's use, his sarvice, an' delight;
An' don't the Greek an' Hebrew words thet mean a Man
mean White?
Ain't it belittlin' the Good Book in all its proudes' featurs
To think 't wuz wrote for black an' brown an' 'lasses-col-
ored creaturs,
Thet could n' read it, ef they would, nor ain't by lor allowed
to,
But ough' to take wut we think suits their naturs, an' be
proud to?
Warn't it more prof'table to bring your raw materil thru
Where you can work it inta grace an' inta cotton, tu,
Than sendin' missionaries out where fevers might defeat
'em,
An' ef the butcher did n' call, their p'rishioners might eat
'em?
An' then, agin, wut airthly use! Nor 't warn't our fault,
in so fur
Ez Yankee skippers would keep on a-totin' on 'em over.
'T improved the whites by savin' 'em from any need o'
workin',
We took to 'em ez nat'ral ez a barn-owl doos to mice,
An' hed our hull time on our hands to keep us out o' vice;
It made us feel ez pop'lar ez a hen doos with one chicken,
An' fill our place in Natur's scale by givin' 'em a lickin';
For why should Cæsar git his dnes more 'n Juno, Pomp, an'
Cuffy?
It 's justifyin' Ham to spare a nigger when he 's stuffy.
Where 'd their soles go tu, like to know, ef we should let
'em ketch
Freeknowledgism an' Fourierism an' Speritoolism an' sech?
When Satan sets himself to work to raise his very bes' muss,
He scatters roun' onscriptur'l views relatin' to Ones'mus.

You 'd ough' to seen, though, how his facs an' argymunce
an' figgers
Drawed tears o' real conviction from a lot o' pen'tent nig-
gers!
It warn't like Wilbur's meetin', where you 're shet up in a
pew,
Your dickeys sorrin' off your ears, an' bilin' to be thru;
Ther' wuz a tent closs by thet hed a kag o' sunthin' in it,
Where you could go, ef you wuz dry, an' damp ye in a
minute;
An' ef you did dror off a spell, ther' wuz n't no occasion
To lose the thread, because, ye see, he bellered like all
Bashan.
It 's dry work follerin' argymunce, an' so, 'twix' this an'
thet,
I felt conviction weighin' down somehow inside my hat;
It growed an' growed like Jonah's gourd, a kin' o' whirlin'
ketched me,
Ontil I fin'ly clean giv out an' owned up thet he 'd fetched
me;
An' when nine-tenths the perrish took to tumblin' roun' an'
hollerin',
I did n' fin' no gret in th' way o' turnin' tu an' follern',
Soon ez Miss S. see thet, sez she, "*Thet* 's wut I call wuth
seein'!
Thet 's actin' like a reas'nable an' intellectle bein'!"
An' so we fin'lly made it up, concluded to hitch hosses,
An' here I be 'n my ellermunt among creation's bosses;
Arter I 'd drawed sech heaps o' blanks, Fortin at last hez
sent a prize,
An' chose me for a shinin' light o' missionary enterprize.

AN ENGLISH M.P. ON THE REBELLION.

AT a social assembly in the town of Dundee, Scotland, on the 23d of January, Mr. W. E. Baxter, the author of a book entitled "America and the Americans"—and a Member of the English Parliament, referred to the crisis in America in the following terms:

Longfellow, in one of his poems entitled the "Warning Stanza," says—and some of you may possibly recollect that I repeated the striking words in one of a series of lectures delivered by me in Dundee some years ago:

"There is a poor blind Samson in this land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
And shake the pillars of the commonweal,
Till the vast temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies." (Applause).

Now, ladies and gentlemen, it is all very well and very true to tell us that the question of Free Trade versus a high Protective Tariff is, and has always been, a bone of contention between the South and the North. No doubt that and other causes of difference have helped to bring matters to their present pass; but slavery is the real culprit, the root of bitterness which troubles them, the *fons et origo mali* (applause). And I would not have the people of this country, however inclined, out of a feeling of natural generosity, to take the weaker side, however dissatisfied with the soldiers of the Federal army, or the measures of the Federal politicians—I would not have them overlook one or two considerations which, amid the exciting incidents of conflict, are apt to be forgotten. The first—and ever to my mind the foremost—is that this Southern Confederacy is the child of treason—that the scheme was hatched by men who, at the time of doing so, were holding offices under, and were in the pay of the United States government, and who made use of their position and influence basely to betray their trust.

Don't let us run away with the idea that the South is more friendly to England than the North (hear). My personal experience is that the reverse is nearer the truth. The German and Irish mobs in the North unquestionably are hostile to us, and the politicians chime in with it too often to gain popularity and votes; but I do not believe that the great mass of the industrious population—the native Americans, the men who take too little part in politics, but who time and again have saved the commonwealth—cherish any such sentiments (great applause). On the contrary, my firm conviction is that they entertain towards us the same feeling of amity which we entertain towards them, mixed, perhaps, with a little less consideration for our feelings, but a little more respect for our character. In ordinary times these people are too busy to attend to public affairs—in times of danger, last month for example, their influence has never been wanting. I should like to know who are the representatives of this class down South? It may suit the purpose of the Confederates to use honeyed phrases for the present. Tell me, do you think that there are many in the Congress of the slave-owners, who do not hate in their heart that England, whose name is a pleasant sound to the black man all over the world? (Tremendous applause.) Besides, I am not sure that there exist in the South the elements which go to form a nation. I know not which of the peculiar customs, either of life in the drawing-rooms of New Orleans, or life on the plantations of Carolina, deserve a particle of our sympathy. Has not slavery blighted society in all these States, stunted the intellectual growth, and debased the nature of the white man, whilst it brutalizes the negro? There are sights and sounds there to be seen and heard, which I cannot think of still—though it is several years since I was in these States—without a shudder; and sorry, indeed, should I be were Great Britain to step one foot out of her way to assist, or prematurely to recognize, such a Confederacy. It is reported that pressure is being brought to bear upon us by France to resist the blockade of the Southern ports, on the ground that it is ineffective. But are we to jump to the conclusion that, because some vessels have run it, it should not be recognized? Have not all the blockades been occasionally run by daring skippers? The question is whether this blockade is as complete, or nearly so, as is usually the case; and I submit that there is no evidence to the contrary. Then, with regard to forcing a supply of cotton, surely for us to advocate the opening of Charleston, or Savannah for this purpose, would be very short-sighted policy. If we are ever to be independent of these States, now is the time for us to try the experiment; and better for us to be a little short of our great sta